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ABSTRACT

An overview of studies of national educational policy conducted by member nations of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) from 1965 to 1979 is presented. The major objective of the report is to identify lessons from past educational policies of the various countries to serve as guides for current and future policy formation. The document is presented in six chapters. Chapter I reviews the changing educational scene in OECD countries. Current trends include expansion of higher education, increased student participation, and financial stringencies. Chapter II presents abstracts of reviews undertaken since 1965 by educational ministries in Ireland, Sweden, Italy, Austria, the Netherlands, the United States, France, Japan, Norway, Canada, and Australia. Chapter III focuses on demography, changing attitudes towards education, and statements of values and objectives. Chapter IV discusses the relationship between educational systems and national economies, planning, political influences, and educational research. Chapter V views major educational issues in high schools, colleges, and teacher training institutions. Issues include access to education, equality versus excellence, regional disparities, comprehensive programs, and economic efficiency. Also discussed are recurrent education and educational organization. The final chapter stresses purposes and impact of OECD reviews and stresses that future reviews will be most useful to OECD nations if they address a wide range of interrelated problems, present multiple national viewpoints, and are followed up by appropriate groups within one or several countries. (DB)

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REVIEWS OF NATIONAL POLICIES FOR EDUCATION

EDUCATION POLICIES IN PERSPECTIVE:

AN APPRAISAL OF OECD COUNTRY EDUCATIONAL POLICY REVIEWS

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ORGANISATION FOR ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT
PARIS 1979

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- to contribute to sound economic expansion in Member as well as non-member countries in the process of economic development;
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface 5

I. THE CHANGING EDUCATIONAL SCENE IN OECD COUNTRIES 7

II. THE SEQUENCE OF COUNTRY REVIEWS 11

III. THE THEMES IN MORE DETAIL 16

Demography 16

Changing Attitudes Towards Education: From Optimism towards Uncertainty 19

Statements of Values and Objectives 23

IV. THE ECONOMY, PLANNING, GOVERNANCE, R AND D AND PARTICIPATION 30

Education and the Economy 30

The Economy and Planning 31

Examples of First Generation Planning 34

Governance and Participation 37

Research and Development 42

V. SUBSTANTIVE EDUCATIONAL ISSUES 44

Structural Changes in Educational Organisation 44

Upper Secondary Education 49

Higher Education 50

Teacher Training 53

Recurrent Education and Relation of Education and Employment 54

VI. THE PURPOSES, OPERATION AND IMPACT OF OECD REVIEWS 56

Purposes of the Reviews 56

The Procedures of the Reviews 58

- The country background reports 58
- The role of the examiners and of the examination visit 61
- The review meeting 64

Impact of Examinations on the Country Reviewed 65

Overall Evaluation 70

Some Conclusions 74

Appendix: List of Documents Consulted 76

PREFACE

A well-established and widely appreciated feature of the programme conducted under the aegis of the Education Committee of OECD is the series of reviews of national education policies in Member countries. Already sixteen reviews relating to thirteen countries have been published and currently five reviews are in varying stages of preparation.

The present study, prepared by Professor Maurice Kogan of Brunel University in consultation with the Secretariat has its origin in a decision by the Education Committee to undertake an appraisal of the Country Review experience over the past fifteen years or so, to see what the functions and impact of the reviews have been and what lessons can be learned from the evolution of educational policies during this period in OECD countries as reflected in the reviews. It is based on four sources of evidence: an analysis of the reports prepared by the teams of examiners appointed for each review and the records of the review meetings in Paris at which delegations from the countries under review reply to questions posed by the examiners and members of the Education Committee; detailed commentaries submitted by six countries which had experienced reviews; interviews with government officials who had been concerned with reviews in their own countries; finally, critical comments on a draft of the study offered by national representatives of thirteen countries at a special meeting held in Paris in January 1979.

The study provides a broad account of major educational developments in the OECD countries since about 1965 by showing how emerging issues and problems were reflected in the sequential choice of themes agreed with each country under review and in the specific topics identified by the examiners themselves as commanding particular interest. The central themes identified are: the impact of population increases since the Second World War; changing attitudes towards education, with a marked swing from optimism towards uncertainty; changing values and objectives; the pursuit of equality.

Although they were prepared over a relatively short period of time, the reviews furnish both a retrospective and prospective view of country policies. While many embraced the same central issues there was from the first (Ireland) to the latest (Austria) a change in focus and assumptions. The themes do not constitute a definitive history but rather a series of snapshots of different policies, of different states of mind and of different approaches during a period of intense change.

The period covered was, of course, one of unprecedented educational growth and reform; a sharp increase in the numbers of pupils and teachers; sweeping re-organisation of lower and upper secondary education; a dramatic expansion of higher education leading to new forms and purposes. Against this background the reviews reveal remarkable parallelisms of national development and raise fascinating questions of how far countries' policies are moulded by the common experiences of war, demographic and economic boom followed by recession, of how far policies are re-inforced by knowledge of changes elsewhere or how far they reflect a national sequence of development.

Looking at the country reviews in historical sequence it is possible to plot the various policy/planning approaches and operational strategies adopted by countries, trace the shift of emphasis from quantitative to qualitative planning, and identify new problems as they have arisen for governance, participation and research and development. The study documents the evolution of educational planning from an initial interest in the technical aspects (how to forecast the needs of manpower and how to make the necessary adaptations to the planning system) to the more complicated problems of general educational development - a gradual shift from concern with the quantitative aspects of educational investment towards thought about the political processes by which values are brought together, legitimised and tested. Finally, out of the study emerge a number of considerations as to how the review process itself could be re-inforced, and these will be taken into account in the planning of future reviews.

I

THE CHANGING EDUCATIONAL SCENE IN OECD COUNTRIES

A proposal was made in 1961 at the OECD Conference on Economic Growth and Investment in Education in Washington DC that Member countries should undertake a comprehensive policy and planning survey of their education systems. As a result between 1968 and 1978 the OECD published sixteen reviews of thirteen of its Member countries.* Their scope and impact are the subject of the present report. The trends discussed here derive from both the examiners' reports and from the country background reports upon which the examiners' work was based.

No one who has lived in the developed world in the last twenty years can fail to have noticed the heavy weather and uncertain winds that have buffeted public policies. The OECD reviews reflect the times and places of which they speak and because OECD has tried to be responsive in its choice of subjects to the needs and preoccupations of its Member countries, the reviews have varied considerably in purpose, content, range and depth. Although the published format differs, the review has always been conducted through a set procedure. This will be discussed in Chapter VI where an attempt will be made to consider how far the established procedures adequately serve both the present and potential purposes of the review system.

The OECD reports reveal, despite important differences between national contexts and perspectives, between the times when they were written, and between the perspectives of different teams of examiners, some remarkable concordances. Most countries experienced similar problems and made similar responses to them.

Everywhere, the numbers of pupils and teachers in school increased dramatically. Almost all country authorities drastically re-organised both their lower and upper secondary school systems. The proportions and numbers of young people entering higher education increased greatly and in turn the forms and purposes of higher education changed. Governments encountered and, to some extent, accepted challenges on the role of education and on the ways in which it should be governed.

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* Listed in the Appendix.

Whilst educational institutions have a life of their own with distinct structures, values and substantive contents, they are responsive to the historic context in which they live. The OECD countries were all subject to common forms of social, ideological, economic and demographic change. Many shared the common experience of a World War. The return to peace after 1945 brought with it, everywhere, a demographic explosion. Most countries enjoyed a long and self-confident economic boom which fed the expectations of individual consumers as well as of those who built up the stock of capital goods for social consumption. New technologies, which some identify with post-industrial society,* drastically changed the tone and style of life and brought the benefits of the transistor, the cheaply produced motor car, air travel, the computer, television and the contraceptive pill into commonplace usage throughout the whole of the developed world. At the same time there were thrusts towards social and sex equality and, later, towards participation and even anarchic attitudes which affected the capacities of governments to govern so that successively less confident forms of planning had to be tried.

Education as a responsive artefact bore the impress of these larger changes and, to some extent, contributed towards them. Here the reader of the OECD reviews faces intriguing questions. Were parallel changes in the different national education programmes the result of an innate parallelism, of a propensity for social development to follow similar steps when the social context is roughly the same? Was the parallelism enhanced by the improved dissemination of concepts and examples between countries? The OECD reviews took place at a time when the transmission of messages, whether urgent and important or facile and unreflective, became as important as the messages themselves. The phenomenal growth of the international market since World War II has extended the trade in ideas. Values can be disseminated between countries so that notions of equality, or economic expansion, or participation, observe no national boundary. In education, the radical changes in secondary school organisation, the expansion of higher education and the spread of participation are all striking examples of how not only were social and economic frameworks making for similar changes in many countries but also how quite specific notions, based on quite specific concepts of educability, were rapidly transmitted and brought into the policy arena.

Concordance of ideas and action is then a key feature of our study. But the reports, and the examiners who write them, are perhaps more able to look for the commonalities than to express the particular ways in which generalized policies emerged differently at the point of action or delivery. Once the abstractions cease and work begins, the obstinacies and moral force of national and local tradition come to the fore and that which seems reasonable to planners has to be tested by teachers and students as to feasibility and as to whether that is the kind of educational life which they will accept and sponsor. The rhetoric may be identical. Framework factors may be similar. But the weight of contemporary policy studies is shifting towards looking at the individuality and the working power of what objectives seen as desirable at the national level may entail.

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* Daniel Bell, The Coming of Post-Industrial Society, Basic Books, New York, 1973.

Moreover, generalized values may be held in common among country authorities or within a national authority itself but then splinter as they are converted into goals and begin to be worked out in detail. Witness the way in which "all-in" secondary education has been interpreted not only between countries but also within them. See, too, the ways in which expanded higher education continues to mean many different things in the different countries. That variation is a function not only of idiosyncrasy, of powerful individuals or of ephemeral ideology, but also of strong and well sustained political ecologies. Constitutional or jurisdictional characteristics particularly affect countries with a federal structure, such as West Germany, Australia and Canada, also, to a lesser extent, the United Kingdom. And variety will flourish rather than weaken as even the most centralized systems consciously move towards delegatory and participative decision-making.

Thus the OECD reviews in revealing common purpose and common development give evidence of variation. Some of the variations are, indeed, those of ethic and ideology. For example, there is a widely differing approach towards the work ethic in different countries. There is a span of attitudes towards equality and selection. There are different perceptions of the value to be placed on economic growth. There are differences in attitudes towards problem-solving at the policy level as between the logical and the pragmatic.

The balance between identifying common themes and analysing their differential impact brings us to questions of OECD method. The country reviews provide many illuminating glimpses of what happened in different countries at different times. The whole set of reviews provides a set of historical snapshots from which we can piece together a thematic procession which will stand as a resource for historians. In conversations, however, with the few country representatives that the author was able to meet many who thought that excellent work was done in the reviews also asked how it could be yet further developed. There was no complete agreement as will be seen from Chapter VI. Yet, apart from their historical interest, the OECD reviews are a test case of the power and the limitations of external analysis. External analysis depends intimately on the state of the policy system being analysed. The efficacy of the OECD depends on the extent to which Member countries have caught up with the potential of policy analysis and are prepared to develop their own capacity in that now widely proclaimed but feebly formulated art. In some cases, OECD examiners will record notable country examples for others to follow. In others, OECD examiners might initiate self-questioning that has not otherwise begun. So in Chapter VI questions are raised about the objectives and methods of the examination; about the potential contribution of generalised and external judgements as against particular and internal analysis; about the extent to which OECD can and should follow up, with Member countries, on the examinations; and about the legitimacy of external critique. There is, then, a more fundamental problem posed by the review process. Is there legitimately a set of criteria for policies and the processes of policy-making against which individual countries can be judged? If so, how might those criteria be used sensitively, and be themselves capable of change in the face of a fluid, dynamic system of ideas which changes, consolidates and changes again as new ideas get fed into it from the OECD countries reviewed? There seems to have been a common climate for educational policy, but common conditions need not justify common criteria because educational development is most secure when it grows from within and only then can face the challenge of assessment and influence from outside.

II

THE SEQUENCE OF COUNTRY REVIEWS

The series of country reviews was written over a relatively short period of time and provides both a retrospective and a prospective view of country policies. Whilst many of the reviews covered many of the same central issues, from the first (Ireland, 1966) to the last (Austria, 1978) both the focus and the assumptions changed. What follows is an attempt to mark out the chronology of continuities and change.

THE PROCESSION OF REVIEWS

The OECD gained its initial experience of examining aspects of individual country's educational policies through the Mediterranean Regional Project (MRP), which was concerned with the educational growth problems of its developing Member countries: Greece, Portugal, Spain, Turkey and Yugoslavia, as an associate Member. As a pioneering activity in the field of education, the MRP stimulated significant policy decisions and further educational planning and research in these countries.

The first of the reviews (Ireland, 1966) to be considered in the present study was largely concerned with an analysis of the priorities for education and the means proposed to attain the country authorities' major objectives (see also page 34). It centred upon the relationship between educational structure and provision, and economic development. The Swedish Review, completed in 1967, considered how a commitment to large-scale change in the education system could be implemented and what the Swedish reforms implied for the future of education. There was considerable interest in the mechanisms to be established for creating "rolling reform" in place of "ad hoc reform". The economy and the planning mechanisms were thus early themes. At the same time planning systems were seen by the Swedes to entail an analysis of objectives. Both the Swedish and the Irish reviews were concerned with ways in which research and development could be harnessed to implementation.

Similarly, the Italian Review, completed in 1967, focussed on the adjustment of the education system to economic and social need. It was specifically related to the technical problems resulting from changes in the education system and recent economic and social developments in Italy. At the same time it commented in great detail on the existing and contemplated structure of the lower and higher stages of secondary education.

By the time of the first Austrian Review (1968) the argument had begun to move from establishing relationships between education and the economy, and of the rationalistic systems that might be devised for planning, to ask how the changing quality of the economy and of social life might lead to new demands on the education system too far reaching to be considered only on a quantitative basis. The first of the reviews on the Netherlands (1969) was still concerned with how flexibility could be introduced into the education system so as to produce educational development within the context of an increasingly productive society. But it also dwelt, as had the Swedish Review, on the prospect of increasing social justice. Congruity between economic and social aims was certainly one of the criteria being applied by the examiners. Throughout all of these earlier reviews the role of research and development in education was discussed. The United States review (1969) specialized on that aspect of government activity, but also introduced some contemplation of the politic and administrative milieu within which policy and practice-related science must find its place. The French Review, published in 1971, was concerned with how a highly traditional and elitist system could modernize and democratize itself in response to a changing society.

The Japanese Review (1970), though concerned with similar themes, was in many respects sui generis. Cultural continuity was juxtaposed with economic expansion in a society in which work and productivity were triumphantly successful but at high social and psychological costs. The review touched upon the problem of how to provide for individual autonomy and personal development within a society in which technology was seen as providing the key to economic growth. It also demonstrated the importance of looking at the education system as a whole, within its broader social and economic context. Very many issues of education as a contributor towards the economy but also to the quality of life were brought forward. So were the issues of participation and governance. The tension between tradition and modernization, productivity and individuality, participation and accountable government, re-emerged in the German Review, completed in 1971. It described attempts to reconceptualize education for the individual student, to introduce equality of educational opportunity and to translate policies into practical proposals for educational reform. In the German political context, these issues were intertwined with the issue of translating the newly-created mechanism for joint federal educational planning into practice, and again with the issue of participation and of autonomy of the individual institution versus State control.

There was then a slight break in the sequence of events until in 1974 the Norwegian Review again set the tone for quite important changes in emphasis. The issues of the economy and of the social equality function of education were by no means left behind. But issues of governance, and particularly the reconciliation between strong central authority committed to implementing social objectives and increased local autonomy, were thoroughly examined. So, too, were the consequences of current policies in terms of the theory, practice and organisation of pedagogical activities in Norwegian schools and universities - a theme not always brought out in the reports hitherto. The themes of governance, planning and participation were taken up again the same year in the Review on England and Wales (1974) which was primarily concerned with processes of planning as exemplified by the Government White Paper of 1972. The examiners also took up questions of the relationship between planning and political and civil service roles.

The Canadian Review of 1975 involved a comprehensive process of self-evaluation by the education authorities. Its overall theme was how to reconcile growing wealth with a commitment to equality and the demand to differentiate among people according to needs, especially when their needs may demand bigger or different resources. The report also, however, went deeply into questions of planning and of process of educational governance. The Austrian report of the same year was restricted to an examination of the university system. The Australian Review, completed in 1976, however, heralded a set of problems increasingly preoccupying all OECD countries, namely the transition from school to work or further study, particularly during a period of youth unemployment, and uncertainty about the part that the education systems could play in meeting the problems.

In 1976, the Review of the Netherlands was a departure from the normal run of reports because it dealt with a set of proposals and guidelines published by a reforming Minister in the Contours Memorandum* rather than with the actual functioning of existing policies. It, too, revealed important changes of emphasis. Uncertainty about the economy was already present but Dutch authorities remained undaunted in the face of it. Their aim was to produce a thoroughly integrated service. But they were also concerned with issues of the distribution of power through education and with proposals for experimentation in educational procedures and here had preoccupations similar to those expressed in the Norwegian background report.

The latest Austrian Review (1978) took up issues of the schools, teacher training and vocational and adult education in a second review of some of these fields.

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* "Contours of a future education system in the Netherlands", Summary of a discussion memorandum, (1976) available upon request from the OECD, Directorate for Social Affairs, Manpower and Education.

If this brief account of some of the themes contained in the reports demonstrates no very systematic procession of ideas, it does record some major shifts of emphasis. The first reviews, as displayed particularly in the Irish Review under the Educational Investment and Planning Programme and the Reviews of Mediterranean countries through the Mediterranean Regional Project, were concerned with economic growth, and the place of education in it. The problems of manpower and of satisfying demands for educational opportunity were dominant. The Swedish review took the argument further and was concerned with how investment policy would lead to particular forms of educational development, and at this point the objectives of educational expansion became more explicit. But as interest in growth, in equality of opportunity, and in the search for talent were expressed in prescriptions for changes in education itself, in schools and colleges, the qualitative results of educational investment became salient. They raised political issues relating to the deep and normative considerations of life style, participation and government. These latter themes were strongly reiterated in reports from the 1968 Austrian review to the Japanese, and most explicitly, the Norwegian review in 1974. Thus emphasis on the economy moved to interest in the polity. Now in later years the uncertainties arising from structural unemployment also began to be stated as in the Australian report. There is thus a merging of economic and political preoccupation.

FUTURE REVIEWS

New agendas for educational policy-making are being formed, as they must continuously be. Future reviews will no doubt take account of the issues that now so sharply emerge. For example, the steady state in higher education leads to questions of the potential alternative uses of the expanded higher education systems. This links up with the universal problem that has so sharply and unexpectedly emerged of structural and youth unemployment and ways in which education can train for flexibility and alternative employment, as well as for personal development. There are prospects, too, of retrospective evaluation of what has been done. For example, to create comprehensive secondary education brings out in sharp form the issue of the age at which differentiation can be allowed without reducing prospects of social cohesion. The problems of transition from school to work require planners to ponder on how the larger society, economy and polity relate to the education system as well as ways in which the education system might put its energies into meeting the challenges of curriculum for life.

There are some areas which have either been neglected in the reviews, such as the linkages between education and related social services, or which have been tackled in only a few of them, such as the education of teachers. All of those mentioned here will become more important as systems brace themselves for an era of uncertainty. These include more work on accountability in education,* the changing career patterns of teachers in the light of changing supply and demand, and many other issues that emerge in response to factors often exogenous to education itself.

With this crude chronology of emphasis, past, present and perhaps future, in mind, we can now direct our attention to the complexities of some key themes in the reports.

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* Examiners need not be short of documentation on this subject. Over 4, 000 references have been noted in the United States alone.

III

THE THEMES IN MORE DETAIL

Increased populations, rising economic and social expectations, buoyant economies that fed and were fed by both, were the background against which the educational policy-makers and planners seemed able to reconstruct education systems in the 1950s and 1960s. When these stimulants weakened in the late 1960s and 1970s a period of uncertainty, tempered by the powerful continuities of national government, set in.

In this chapter, by way of prologue, we first sketch in the extent to which education has been indebted to demographic movement as a stimulus and cause of development. We then go on to look at some of the main themes of educational values and national systems, as sampled by the OECD reports, before returning, in Chapter IV, to issues of educational substantive content and organisation. The reports, as we have already indicated, do not constitute a systematic, let alone a comprehensive, history of these themes, but nevertheless cumulatively act as witness to them.

DEMOGRAPHY

No period has seen so dramatic an increase in population as did the OECD countries in the years following the 1939/45 World War. In the OECD areas, between 1960 and 1970 the number of teachers rose by about one third, public educational expenditure increased by an annual average of 14% between 1960 and 1970, the annual increase in new enrolments in higher education ranged from 5 to 12% and there was hardly a country in which the period of compulsory schooling was not augmented by one or, most often, two years.

The phenomenon of population growth is celebrated in all of the country background reports. So, too, is the growth in recruitment to the different stages of education, although no overall picture can be derived from the reports taken by themselves. A few examples will make this clear. In France, between 1950 and 1967 the numbers enrolled in all types of education increased from 6,234,000 to 11,660,000, a factor of increase of 0.87%. The Review on England and Wales (1974) graphically makes the same point by stating that its educational participants aged six years in January 1971 were 846,000, whilst the last of the age groups of full compulsory attendance, the 15-year-olds, numbered 649,000.

In Canada, school enrolments increased from 4.2 million to 5.86 million between 1960/61 and 1970/71: the total of full time enrolments of all types increased from 4.37 million to 6 million between 1960/61 and 1975/76; in the 21 years after 1950 post-secondary education increased from 90,000 to half a million students. The Swedish Background Report stated that:

> "One factor behind the radical change in the Swedish school system ... was the wartime population boom. From less than 100,000 in 1940, the number of yearly births rose rapidly to about 140,000 at the end of the war..." "So the lower secondary school, the realskola, would have required large-scale expansion from the mid-1950s to cope with the numbers." "This gave the experimental school a 'double aim'. It would not only be a pedagogical and organisational experiment, but also a substitute for a quantitatively insufficient realskola."*

The numbers of Australian pupils aged 16 to 18 enrolled full time in school increased by 130% between 1962 and 1977. Full time students in universities trebled between 1961 and 1971 and the number of full time and part time students in tertiary institutions almost doubled between 1968 and 1974. The 1970 Dutch Review records how a birthrate substantially above the average for Western Europe pushed up primary school enrolment and how social changes greatly enlarged both the preschool and secondary school populations.

Between 1919 and 1960, in spite of deep social crises and political and military upheavals, Austria's secondary school enrolments almost quadrupled, while between 1955 and 1974 the university population increased from nearly 14,000 to nearly 67,000 and was thought to be likely to reach 80,000 in the 1980s.

Increasing enrolments were in part the result of the rising birth rate and part a result of changes in educational recruitment policy. Hence the increasing number of pre-school places offered in the different countries, the extension of the school life by raising the school leaving age, the enlarged capacity of the system to cater for those who voluntarily stayed in secondary education beyond the compulsory retention age, and the massive expansion of higher education from elite systems towards those capable of taking the mass of the population.

Educational demography involves not only the rise and fall of population groups but also changes of balance as between town and country, changes in the occupational structure generally represented by these home locations, and, most important from our point of view, perhaps, the positive decisions made by government on the length of schooling and the opportunities in higher education.

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* Educational Policy and Planning: Sweden, OECD, Paris, 1967, p. 66.

The rate at which there were changes as between town and country, agricultural, industrial and other more sophisticated industries, is not, of course, evenly recorded in the reports under review. One Member country (Norway), for example, positively determined not to change its balance between urban and rural population distributions, in spite of the high technology and increased wealth brought in by oil and by the general economic growth of the country. In some countries urbanization had all but reached its limit, and the opposite phenomenon, the emptying of town centres towards the suburbs, was beginning to emerge.

Other countries throughout the period were still urbanizing. For example, Austria's urbanization programme accompanied a great change in occupational patterns between 1951 and 1961. Agriculture gave pride of place to industrial development as labour became scarcer and as higher skills and research potential began to be more valued so as to meet labour scarcities. Yet, as in so many countries, regional disparities in education were marked. Differentiated allocation of children to different forms of post-primary education (see Chapter V) particularly affected the rural areas where opportunities were discernibly less good for advancement to the more selected parts of secondary education. In Italy, the change in occupational balance was startling. In 1918 60% of the population worked in agriculture. This proportion had dropped to 26% by 1965. The industrial expansion of the Po Basin attracted several millions of unemployed and underemployed from the south; 12.9% of children over six years were still illiterate in 1951, and there was a decline of one third in this rate by 1961 and most of the gains in literacy were experienced in the rural areas and in the south where the problems had been most acute. Here, indeed, the increase in primary education directly benefited the worst off, whilst increased opportunities in secondary and higher education correspondingly benefited the middle classes.

In France, too, there were major shifts from agriculture towards middle-sized towns and a decanting of the large towns to the suburbs. With these changes in occupational and geographical location have come other changes for more subtle and relevant to education. The towns brought with them new life styles and expectations, and a decline in the strength of the traditional sense of authority of the family and the school.

The growth in population greatly increased the pressure on education systems. In the first twenty years of our period, until the mid-1960s, the shifts and growth of population greatly increased the pressure on and accelerated changes in education systems. But in the last decade, the unreliable nature of population growth has asserted itself. Troughs have followed the waves and together with weakened economies have left in their wake succeeding sectors of education with declining or "steady state" demands. These have been contributory factors in leading education into its present "steady state" or, indeed, decline in numbers of clients.

None of the reviews so far have been prepared at a time when the impact of reduction has been fully felt and analysed. The extent to which reduced or stagnant demand will enable qualitative improvement of existing practice to take place is one question for the future. Another is whether it is possible to induce new practices and to aim for a wider range of educational objectives. In education, both fixed and human capital take a long time to build up and to reduce and are not easily adapted to new purposes.

Demography is, then, one of the major environmental features with which education has to contend, and population changes and changes in demand have been potent forces in one of the most fundamental aspects in educational planning during our period: that from optimism and certainty towards uncertainty and indeterminacy. The changes have been different for different age groups at particular points in time. The unstable nature of demand as against the relative permanence of physical plant and tenured teaching staff is one of the disjunctions with which planners have had to contend.

The first of the reviews most clearly of all, but some of the latest reviews as well, are based on a belief in the ability of national authorities to prescribe purposes for education on the assumption that the investment of finance, of buildings and manpower and carefully thought out systems would enable countries to reach goals of a productive economy, stronger individual freedom and choice, and a more equal society.

The next section describes how these optimistic certainties have been challenged with results for the direction and style of educational planning.

CHANGING ATTITUDES TOWARDS EDUCATION: FROM OPTIMISM TOWARDS UNCERTAINTY

In the 1960s there was general optimism about the part that education could play in creating the good life, prosperous economies and civilised, reflective relationships and institutions.

This optimism was well expressed, in May 1970, by the Secretary General to the OECD at the confrontation meeting for the French Review who said:

> "Ten years ago (1961) at the Washington Conference, the OECD had endeavoured to get two fundamental points recognized: first, that educational expansion was indispensable for the future growth

20

> of Member countries' economies; secondly, that the growth rates expected were such that countries would have the means of ensuring considerable educational expansion ... The major problem for many countries was not so much to continue the growth process as to direct it successfully ... What was involved for the future was a reform of the education system to enable it to enter into a new relationship with society and the economy. The growth process had reached a point where it could no longer be taken for granted that a balance would be established between the education system and the economic and social system. Furthermore, the installation of an efficient education system for the masses provided many opportunities for a different allocation of the resources which society devoted to education."*

In expressing cautious optimism, the Secretary General could not predict the decline in economic activity that Europe was just about to encounter. He was, however, reflecting some of the developing arguments about the relationship between an expanded economy and an education system and the quality of life which it involved. These issues emerged sharply in the late 1960s, before economic crisis set in but as challenges to educational authority and substance were launched.

Expansionism was one source of optimism. A second was faith in planning rationality. It was assumed that it was possible to specify educational policy, in relationship to the exogenous aspects of the economy and of social movements at large, and that it would be possible to move towards systematic solutions. Thus prosperity could be planned, and education could be planned as a component of prosperity as both a capital and a consumer good. Moreover, it would all be acceptable, and consensus could be assumed so that issues of participation in the form of challenges to traditional ballot box democracy need not arise.

But, since those days, uncertainty has emerged. The optimism that there will be economic growth, and improvements in society at large, and that education will contribute to both, has given way in the society at large to uncertainty or pessimism. This uncertainty is not clearly reflected in the OECD publications except inasmuch as the recent interest in the relationship between schooling and the world of work reflects anxieties about the growth of structural youth unemployment.

A second source of uncertainty will be discussed later. It is most clearly brought out in the German Review which treats the difficulties facing a liberal democracy when the more extreme forms of participative governance are forced upon the education authorities. The same themes are turned over, from somewhat different perspectives in the Norwegian Review which explores the complexity of participatory governance, and in the Japanese Review as well.

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* Reviews of National Policies for Education: France, OECD, Paris, 1971, p. 113.

A different kind of change, and a fundamental one, is towards what might be called "sophisticated uncertainty". The planning of the 1950s and 1960s was moving towards a belief that governments could predict the outcomes of their actions, that they could make institutional arrangements that would work. The mode of educational planning has now passed into what has been called "second generation". From a belief that planning can indicate the focus of development, opinion has moved towards planning in a context of uncertainty, in which there is statement of multiple options, which can be affected by multiple stakeholders in education and in society at large,[*] and with no certainty as to which group has the final say. One set of concepts did not give rise to the other. The newest style is perhaps more concerned with the style and mode of planning than with its substantive content.

The changing focus is evident in many of the more recent reports, but most particularly in the British Review meeting and in the Japanese delegation's trenchant questioning[**] of what the examiners meant by qualitative improvements in education. The intelligentsia in some countries have increasingly favoured indeterminacy and incrementalism rather than synoptic and rationalistic planning. Yet these are not moves which country authorities have been able easily to follow since government has to be predictable and clear to be effective. Indeterminacy cannot be read into most of the country background reports. Is this, perhaps, evidence of a healthy dialectic between the responsible country authorities who have to be reasonably certain of their purposes, and examiners whose function should be that of critical counter analysis?

The most striking example of the refusal to be daunted in the face of sophisticated uncertainty and indeed pessimisms, is that of the Dutch Contours Memorandum which claimed that education can influence the development of society and has done so.

> "Thanks to the schools, the level of education of broad strata of the population has risen considerably. Partly due to the schools, knowledge and culture are no longer a monopoly of the few, prosperity has increased and the old sharp distinction between social classes has become blurred. Thanks to education, the desire and also the opportunity to participate in decision-making at work, in the neighbourhood, in the municipality, or at national level has increased."[***]

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[*] See the analyses of these trends in Alternative Educational Futures in the United States and in Europe. Methods, Issues and Policy Relevance, OECD/CERI, Paris, 1972.

[**] At the Confrontation meeting for the Review of Japan in November 1970.

[***] Reviews of National Policies for Education: Netherlands, OECD, Paris, 1976, p. 7.

The Dutch maintained that though education cannot of itself create new social conditions and more equality in society, it can make a contribution. And a sound education system is definitely an essential condition for the success of a policy designed to achieve these things.

This belief was firmly endorsed by the examiners who said that "nobody doubts that the typical worker has recieved an education much greater in both quality and in quantity than his predecessor, and this has not reduced his employability".* Here, certainly, we must pause to note that whatever those involved in education think, some politicians and members of the general public do doubt whether education is better than it used to be and whether it has enhanced the employability of labour. Moreover the new abundance of information has meant that all have access to such sources of education as television that have reduced the power of the school.

In these respects, the OECD reviews reflect the ability of public institutions, and particularly those incorporating large and rather immovable assets of people and fixed capital such as school buildings, to withstand contemporary fashions and moods. It might, indeed, be one of the functions of international organisations to remind country members that policital and economic moods change and that they should not easily yield to the pessimism of a moment or of a decade. The education authorities in the OECD countries seem to have kept their faith in the value of education and of social action and in the interrelationship between them. (But this faith is not, perhaps, unanimously sustained.) Moreover, national background reports continued to declare the importance of education for the economy.

The OECD reviews are thus significant in clarifying a phenomenon which, if not surprising, is an important one. Country governments can be, and usually are, the custodians of continuity. They promote the legislation frameworks, specify the conditions under which teachers are trained, recruited, and employed, and sanction the buildings which incorporate educational values in bricks and mortar. Their critics might maintain, of course, that they are guardians of the conservative and of the unadventurous, and one issue that arises and is taken up in Chapter VI (see pages 71 and 72) is how established policy might be tested by alternative analysis, including that provided by the OECD examinations.

Because continuity, as embedded in educational law and the expectation of the majority of the people that schooling will be provided, is an important as the doubts expressed, not always without reason, about the educational enterprise, the statement of educational objectives is the starting point for the policy efforts of some, if not all, Member countries. From the point of view of the current analysis, such overt statements as are made are important in showing the range and changes in educational intent over time.

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* Ibid, Page 47.

STATEMENTS OF VALUES AND OBJECTIVES

External analyses, of the kind provided by OECD reviews, often start by clarifying the values and objectives and assumptions with which education systems are engaged. It will be argued later in this report that the process begun with such an analysis might be carried through not only with a study of current policies and of the institutions which implement them, but also with study of actual impact, in all of its variety and differentiation. However, the statements of objectives as they can be gleaned from the background reports certainly suggest a variety of emphasis as between the different countries and a development of different preoccupations over these densely packed years of policy change.

The Starting Points: The Inherited Tradition

OECD reviews were written during a period when many countries avowed their intention to make education more openly available to all, and to modernize its structure and functioning. Some, if not all, of the reports were, however, at pains to analyse the traditional elements from which education should now move. Among the reviews most explicit in this respect were both the first and the latest of the Austrian (1968 and 1978), the French (1970), the German (1971), the Japanese (1970) and the Canadian (1975).

It will be useful to catch a glimpse of some of the inherited concepts upon which examiners pondered before discussing the new objectives that were advanced and evidence of some of the resistance encountered to them.

The Austrian 1962 School Act, quoted in the first of their reviews, refers to the overall objectives laid down for the school system as follows:

> "It shall be the task of the Austrian school to foster the development of the talents and potential abilities of young persons in accordance with ethical, religious and social values and the appreciation of that which is true, good and beautiful, giving them an education corresponding to their respective stages of development and to their respective courses of study. It shall give young people the knowledge and skills required for their future lives and occupations and train them to acquire knowledge on their own initiative."*

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* Reviews of National Policies for Education: Austria, OECD, Paris, 1970, p. 15.

This is a classically traditional statement which assumes that society can identify, and through education, advance ethical, religious and social values. In 1978, the examiners did not perceive any great change, and they remarked that "To the Austrians, education is not a notable agent of social change, but rather a means of meeting the needs or demands of society as expressed through an intricate range of sectors and constituencies".*

The French Review rightly identified the French tradition as typifying values that are strong in all of the European systems. In specifying further democratisation and modernization the examiners suggested that "formal" equality created through the imposition of uniform standards, centralized administration and examinations should be replaced by greater actual equality of education for members of all social classes. They proposed that it was important to sustain the glories of the "culture générale" and, at the same time, to recognize the value of the new science technologies. The ideal of a humanistic education for an elite, surely explicitly to be found throughout almost all other systems before change began in the 1960s, was thus a benchmark from which new objectives could be developed.

Although the context was far different, the examiners in the Japanese Review (1970) noted a number of problematic, if not wholly irreconcilable, tensions that might have a familiar ring to European countries: between cultural continuity and future creativity, between the democratic and the developmental aspects of education, and between individual autonomy, self-fulfilment and technologies and economic growth. Noting the success of the Japanese in relating the education system to the needs of the economy, they observed, however, that it was "tied to a unique pattern of economic organisation - capitalism cast in a feudal mode... but perhaps time had now come to detach the educational train from the economic locomotive".**

They also noted how the Japanese were aware of the qualitative problems raised by quantitative expansion. The manifest success of educational planning in the promotion of economic growth has raised new questions about what society will do with the proceeds of growth. The concern with the qualitative aspects of education was challenged by the Japanese delegation when they asked what criteria could be applied to educational progress. "What did 'raising the qualitative level of education' really mean?" Some of the answers the examiners gave were: "eliminating mere mercantile 'bread and butter' qualification-getting from the school ...; forecasting and adjusting to the needs of society one or two decades hence ... ; avoiding inflexible commitments to policies which might prevent 'continuing rolling reform'...; helping individuals adjust to social change, cope with leisure and create their own meaningful pattern of social life ...; reducing inequality by compensating for the differential advantages of children from different backgrounds... ; promoting equality of opportunity in competition for the most valued positions in society ...; diminishing the cultural and social distances between those in different walks of life."*

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* Reviews of National Policies for Education: Austria, School Policy, OECD, Paris, 1979, p. 47.

** Reviews of National Policies for Education: Japan, OECD, Paris, 1971, p. 12.

However, the examiners were not advocating a wholesale abandonment of old objectives. It was possible, it would seem from their report, that education could be at once functional, democratic and individually developmental. Moreover, prosperity in the societies of the future would depend as much upon adaptability, creativity and co-operation as upon the intelligent use of technology.

The German Review was also concerned with a system in some respects outstandingly successful whilst needing to be modernized, although the examiners' critique was by no means accepted by all of the German education authorities. The German system was seen to be geared towards early and rigid social selection. The country authorities, and the examiners, were concerned with the development of democracy at a time when liberalization was, perhaps, all the more strongly promoted by the country authorities in order to extirpate the tyrannies of the past.

Thus, in the German Review, the statement of aims in the 1970 Bildungbericht (official report on Education) was concerned with the modernization of Germany. It was noted that the breakneck economic growth of the country had gone forward with little fundamental change of the educational structure. There had originally been a good fit between authoritarian capitalism and the work of the schools. Unemployment had then been the sanction keeping people in line. That was not so now. Hence the values of society were directly affected by the changing patterns of the economy and both of these, in their turns, were breaking open the strong institutional fabric of German education.

The fact that some reviews did not explictly analyse the traditional elements of educational policy does not mean, of course, that they were not there for the analysis. Different elements of both the Germanic and the Gallic style of education could be found in all European countries and, indeed, in some non-European ones as well, such as Canada. But some reports were concerned with analysing future policies rather than existing problems and thus we find in the centrally important Swedish background report of 1967 that the mode of analysis is almost wholly predictive rather than historical.

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* Ibid., pp. 42-43.

Modernizing Educational Objectives

The Swedes did not concern themselves with producing objectives concerned with traditional values or with transmitting the received culture. They were far more committed to ending what they regarded as disfunctional and unjust differentiation according to prescribed courses and abilities. The Swedes proclaimed a social democratic ethic in which all could participate in education, with a minimum of differentiation. They assumed, firmly and confidently, that both the planning system and science as imparted through research and development would secure desirable futures. They also assured that reform could be "rolling" so that moral certainty in no sense implied the replacement of one set of traditions by the imposition of new unchanging orthodoxies. They hinted at no conflict, either, between the development of individuals and the development of society and the economy for the whole country.

The examiners summarized Swedish goals and objectives as follows:

"i) All Swedes of school age should enjoy an equal right to public education. Thus, the school system must aim to meet the differentiated educational needs of various groups of learners, on a life-time learning basis, while creating a core of common experiences and shared values and social skills crucial to a political democracy.
ii) The educational system must produce the manpower skills and abilities, providing the training and retraining required for economic growth and technological progress of the nation.
iii) The educational system must make efficient use of human and material resources that are always scarce and expensive in terms of alternatives."*

The sequence of Dutch reports moved towards similar objectives if in a somewhat less systematic and determined fashion. In the 1967 background report on Educational Policy and Planning in the Netherlands, the Dutch adopted the viewpoint that education objectives must be developed in the context of the wider aims of society. These wider aims were "a search for an increasingly productive society, characterised by increasing social justice". By the time of the review meeting in 1969, it was noted how the current definition of the purposes of education as the development towards participation of the different social classes in all forms of education had been rejected as too passive and theoretical. Research and development within the Ministry of Education had modified the concept so that it became a combination of activities framed on compensation or neutralisation of social, socio-psychological and economic elements hindering the maximal exploitation of potential intelligence. This viewpoint was strongly reinforced by 1976, when the Contours Memorandum was saying "first, the overriding consideration was the protection of the most defenceless members of society against exploitation; later the emphasis fell on the need for skilled and professional manpower, while, in the last ten years especially, the right of the individual to develop his full potential and the need to prepare him for a place in society in the broadest sense have gained the upper hand."* Equality of opportunity had moved, in fact, towards equality of outcomes. At the same time, the Dutch Review reflected the understanding that educational achievement cannot be measured simply in terms of productivity, or even in terms of the equalization of social opportunity, but is multi-dimensional. In any event, it was not to be assessed solely in terms of academic performance. "The Minister's conception of equality as embracing not only access to education but also capacity to participate in decision-making at all levels is a good illustration of one dimension of educational achievement which is often sadly neglected."** Here the examiners were celebrating the move towards the democratic quality of educational institutions. This objective was also to be found in the Norwegian Review in 1974.

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* _Reviews of National Policies for Education: Sweden_, OECD, Paris, 1969, p. 22.

It must be noted, in concluding this section on objectives, that few of the background reports linked their statements of goals to an evaluation of how they were implemented.

Education and Equality

Of all the values stated or implied in the OECD reviews, and promulgated in educational planning, the belief in social equality has been the strongest. It was in line with the optimism about the economic function of education: more education would mean more production and more goods to be equally distributed. It underpinned the massive structural changes in lower, upper and post-secondary education to which we will refer later. It is a powerful component now in the changing formulations of educational government where participation is seen to be not only a way towards more, efficient education, because services improve in relationship to the commitment of those being served, but also as a way towards a fairer take up of the social benefits distributed through education.

In treating the themes of equality, it must be said that the OECD reviews have not caught up with the full sequence of arguments which are to be found in the work of C. Arnold Anderson,***, C. Jencks,**** and R. Boudon* who, in brief, argue that more educational investment does not necessarily lead to more equality of educational opportunity, and that more equal educational opportunity does not necessarily lead to more social mobility or social equality. These reports are, however, evidence of a concern as to the mechanisms of distribution, with ways in which education systems enable students to enjoy full access to education.

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* Reviews of National Policies for Education: Netherlands, Contours of a Future Education System, OECD, Paris, 1976, p. 6.

** Ibid., p. 53.

*** C. Arnold Anderson, "A Skeptical Note on Education and Mobility", in A.M. Halsey et al, Education, Economy and Society, Glencoe Free Press, New York, 1961, pp. 164-179.

**** C. Jencks, Inequality, Basic Books, New York, 1972.

This is, indeed, a shortcoming in the reports and is relevant to a theme already mentioned which will be taken up later, namely, the extent to which it is possible for examiners to make meaningful assessments of educational policies without study of the impacts of different schemes.

With these reservations stated, however, the move forward from the earlier Swedish and Dutch statements has been impressive. The latest reports building to some extent on knowledge gained from the earlier reports produce useful accounts of the different forms of educational inequality.

The Canadian Review (1976) recounts how school reform movements in the last 15 years have taken their point of departure from the demand for equality of educational opportunity for all children. It analysed the efforts to serve this goal into three phases. It was first hoped that equality could be achieved by affording free access to all schools in their localities. In most countries, however, these hopes were not realized and children from submerged social groups were not able to succeed in the traditional programmes or themselves dropped out of them. A second phase led to attempts to understand the complex causes of inequality and to try remedial measures through compensatory education. The increase in pre-school education facilities, largely introduced in this phase, did not demonstrably promote equality. The introduction of more practice-orientated courses did help to produce a perceptible decline in the number of drop-outs. But, in all, the most comprehensive programmes of in-school efforts did not eliminate social disadvantage.

The third and most difficult phase included attempts to overcome external causes for school failure by providing within the school an array of specific social, health and welfare measures. Attempts to equalize through education were extended beyond the period of childhood and youth and the concept of lifelong and recurrent education, aimed at catching up on lost chances, became confirmed.

The Dutch had already added a further dimension to their 1975 Contours Memorandum which included not only access to education in the concept of equality, but also participation in decision-making at all levels.

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* R. Boudon, Education, Opportunity and Social Inequality, Wiley, New York, 1974.

Much else about the pursuit of the equality objective can be told in terms of changes in educational structure, designed to remove differentiating devices such as early selection into different forms of secondary education or restrictive access to higher education. As matters stand in 1978, whilst all governments continue to regard equality as a prime objective, the complexity of the problems have not yet enabled those who have attempted to solve them to obtain the results hoped for, perhaps because the methods applied have not been adequate and appropriate.

IV

THE ECONOMY, PLANNING, GOVERNANCE, R AND D AND PARTICIPATION

EDUCATION AND THE ECONOMY

The OECD reports have always emphasized the importance of education in the economy. The Irish Review of 1966 (published 1969) related how Ireland had been making a strong systematic effort to develop her economy. "Educational progress, as the cornerstone of this effort, is meant to ensure that Ireland will benefit fully from the fruits of economic and technical progress."* Ireland was, in fact, the first country to follow up and to undertake a national survey in connection with the adapting of the education system to the present and future requirements of scientific progress and economic growth. It took part in the OECD educational innovation and policy programme and produced a report, Investment in Education, which was the starting point of the OECD review.

The Irish Review brought out a fundamental difficulty in attempts at educational planning "... how to reconcile the search for the best balance between the needs of the economy and the 'output' of the educational system with the concept of the maximum amount of education, according to aptitude, for all young people - a concept which is now apparently the basis for most national education policies, at least in OECD countries."**

The Irish placed educational planning within their economic development programme but several subsidiary issues emerged. One was how far it was possible to develop planning mechanisms - which they attempted to do within the development branch of their Ministry of Education; how to establish priorities for developing the education system, and how then to achieve priority targets. They were using, in fact, a classic model of economic and educational planning which began with premises about the need of the economy and finished up with assumptions about what the schools could do to help meet those objectives.

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* Reviews of National Policies for Education: Ireland, OECD, Paris, 1969, p. 7.

** Ibid., p. 8.

Some OECD examiners such as those of Japan, Austria, and France, were concerned that the relationship might be too mechanistic as well as successful. The Japanese had certainly used education as an instrument of economic development. The French, as we have seen, regarded all of its education, from the most sophisticated and prestigious, to the lowest, as ways of licensing the manpower that will perform different social and economic functions. Austria moved forward gingerly from a traditional framework of education so as to secure its place among the world's producers of high technology.

In depicting the country reviews' statements on the economy, it should be emphasized that the full power of the world recession which began in 1973 could not be recorded because most reviews took place before that time. But, as we have said, the recession did not radically alter the views, as recorded, of the countries being reviewed.

The examiners of the Dutch Contours Plan in reflecting on the relationship between the labour market and the education system declared robustly that the take up of manpower was a function, or a disfunction, of the economic market and not a problem resulting from the education system or processes. They still welcomed manpower planning but argued, surely sensibly, that it was necessary to identify specific areas of excess demand or supply rather than attempt large scale synoptic and generalized planning. Do not try to do too much at once, was the argument. They went on to argue that educational change often took place in time of economic trouble: "in the past, reform has not been held back by poverty... the greatest steps forward have occurred when the financial climate was most forbidding."* Moreover, the reduction in employment reduces the opportunity costs of providing education.

The argument now rests as follows. Crude aggregates of educational development cannot be related to crude aggregates of economic change. Education, sure enough, does enhance manpower for the economy. But it does so in quite specific contexts. Once away from specifics, the relationship becomes ambiguous.

The economic function of education is largely taken for granted in most of the reviews discussed here. The next wave of reviews will surely reflect the more sophisticated uncertainties with which the economic functions of education are now treated.

THE ECONOMY AND PLANNING

Since the early 1960s, there have been many changes in assumptions about educational planning. There was first an interest in the technical aspects of planning, in how to determine the economic and

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* Contours of a Future Education System, op.cit., pp. 53-54.

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social needs for manpower and how to make the necessary adaptations to the educational planning system. Planning now takes on the problems of general educational development. This has meant a shift from concern with the quantitative aspects of educational investment towards thought about the political processes by which values are brought together, legitimised and tested. Whereas such educational planning as took place was earlier subordinated to economic planning, it has taken on a life and meaning of its own, though it will never have the prescriptive clarity of economic planning.

At the beginning of the period most countries worked on annual budgetary plans without much attempt to relate educational planning to overall economic planning, or to analysis of educational purposes and functions. But well before the 1960s some countries began to attempt more systematic planning. This was undoubtedly helped by some of the prevalent optimism already discussed, that education was calculable as human capital formation, and that education was a certain way of providing skilled manpower. It was hoped, then, that national authorities could rationally order objectives and priorities, and put prices on and expect clear returns from them.

There were, and are, variations in the operative concepts. Thus the Swedes believed that they could state overriding goals which would help to stipulate the style and values of Swedish society. The central system would provide frameworks within which receivers of funds might work without specifying in detail how the work shall be done.

By constrast, throughout the period when systematic planning developed, the British adopted a different view, and were not alone in promoting a modest concept of the role of planning. The Dutch, for example, though among the pioneers in economic planning came quite late to forward planning, in any sophisticated sense, for the education system.

In 1974, the Review on England and Wales evinced an explicitly modest view. Planning was conceived as mapping educational policy as it now existed, with a due emphasis on demography, and with a framework determined by political feasibility. Options could be looked at as between policies, and it would be possible to see whether those options fitted what was known about the characteristics of the education system. In the view of some British observers, the examiners had a different view of planning which was that it should be concerned with totally reshaping the system. As was made plain at the review meeting, the British saw planning as leading to decisions within finite time and within feasible resource possibilities, and thought that the more speculative forms of planning could be undertaken by academic centres from which they could contribute towards the development of overall thinking.

Within the European tradition planning might be more concerned with working out a range of alternative futures which might or might not eventually stick in terms of what happens within the schools and within the administrative system. British planning, it was held, might not be as ambitious in its objectives but somewhat more of what is planned gets into the system than elsewhere. Moreover, the examiners who criticized this approach did not understand the extent to which decision-making is controlled within a framework of political decisions rather than administration.

Different forms of indicative planning thus emerged from the first stage of "first generation planning" undertaken by country authorities. Those uncertainties of purpose and method were later joined by increasing doubts about the ability of governments to manage economic futures. But more fundamentally, there has also been the enormously important movement in planning philosophy that might be generally called "indeterminacy". In the writings of Charles E. Lindblom, Robert Dahl, David Braybrooke, and Aaron Wildavsky, * attacks have been developed on synoptic planning. Synoptic planning assumes that it is possible to make value statements and place them in ordinal preferences, that it is possible to find common units of welfare, that it is feasible to take stock of what one is doing and to scan a large range of options in such a way as to predict how human beings will react to new and carefully planned systems. The indeterminists instead prefer what Lindblom and Braybrooke have called "muddling through" or "disjointed incrementalism" and in justification of their arguments could point to the failure to plan well when producing high rise blocks of flats, motorway planning systems, large educational units or hospitals.

The work of Lindblom, Dahl and Braybrooke in particular contains a further strand relevant to our theme. If there must be doubts about the output of planning there must also be questioning of the processes by which it is achieved. Thus there is conflict between technocratic, and participatory or "polycentralist" planning. The latter forms are concerned to determine what members of the public want rather than what seems "logically" right and possible within the frameworks of administrators.

We must not exaggerate the impact of the academic neo-conservative attacks on synoptic planning nor, for that matter, those deriving from somewhat non-left-wing sociology but it is not fanciful to assume that it has affected the climate within which some OECD country authorities work. It has made the theory at least of planning look different. The alternative mode of planning is that of multi-values analysis. Options and uncertainties are fully displayed. Decision-makers have a wide

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* For example, D. Braybrooke and C.E. Lindblom, A Stragegy of Decision: Policy Evaluation as a Social Process. The Free Press, 1963.

C.E. Lindblom, "The Science of Muddling Through", Public Administration Review, 77 XIX, 2, Spring 1959.

A. Wildavsky, "Doing Better and Feeling Worse", Graduate School of Public Policy, Berkeley, California, Working Paper 19, 1975.

range of perspectives open to them and can respond the more intuitively to pressures from a more openly participative system. Planning is from and for uncertainty. And planning should tie up with participative systems which are polycentral rather than unitary. It should also be emphasized that though for convenience we refer to "first" and "second" generation planning they developed in parallel rather than sequentially. They constituted different approaches to the politics of planning rather than a drastic change to politics.

In reflecting on the different approaches to planning we must recall that the debates were largely off the stage of actual policy-making - the intuitive and incremental modes; different degrees of the indicative mode; and "daring" futurological modes - the country background reports nowhere reflected the range of concepts expressed by some planners and planning theories in the late 1960s. At a meeting held in Paris in 1969,* reports submitted by eighteen countries of their planning programmes showed that educational planning had been institutionally established in the great majority of countries and that "there is a growing 'specialization' in the 'long-term future',"** mainly to be found in academic settings. The Conference engaged itself with the central issues still faced in educational planning - how far can or should official planning reach out to span the gap between the particular political reference points of its day-to-day operations and the often disconcerting insights that may come from a long-term analysis of education in society.

Planning realism and futurological vision remain in uncertain relationship with each other; not, however, that day-to-day planning is always seen as wholly concerned with facts or wholly rationalistic. At both the Paris meeting in 1969 and in its country examination later, for example, Norway insisted that planning is an educational activity aimed at changing behaviour.

EXAMPLES OF FIRST GENERATION PLANNING

Some of the issues encountered by countries in their search for rational systems that would meet objectives can be briefly illustrated here.

The Irish contribution to educational planning and analysis was the first to be publicly elaborated through an OECD review (1966). Their analyses were seen to be centred around the "productivity" of the education system; social and economic targets were taken as fundamental to their judgements. They identified in a sustained analysis the imbalance between manpower supply and demand, and the inequalities of enrolment, by social and economic categories, and by region. A development unit was developed within the Irish Ministry. Irish innovations in planning were thus quite similar in purpose and style, and in their concern with productivity, to those of the Dutch.

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* See Long Range Policy Planning in Education, OECD, Paris, 1973.

** Ibid., p. 3.

The 1968 Austrian Background Report followed five years of planning development in which the outside observer can see the turning of the wheel from quantified manpower planning to "second generation" planning for uncertainty. It began with attempts to gather statistical data in order to assess whether the education system could produce appropriate manpower. But the Austrian planners discovered that the changing quality of social life, the changing patterns of income and of social demands, created new demands on the educational system too far reaching to be considered only on a quantitative basis. They were thus led, they claimed, to a deeper understanding of educational process and of social dynamism. It is on the basis of these earlier attempts at certainty that far more imprecise concepts of planning, involving a "fan-tail" of choices and viewpoints begin now to develop.

At the time of its review (1970) the French planning system had not developed much concern for the qualitative aspects of educational planning. The examiners thought it rigid so that, for example, school building seemed to bear no relationship to educational content or purposes. Money allocations were not obviously related to an analysis of educational needs and norms. The planning process was limited to medium-term investment requirements for State and local programmes. Whilst educational planning was geared to the larger framework of economic planning, that, too, was implemented through an annual budgetary system that took no account of larger objectives or of wider planning perspectives.

German developments take on a particular interest because of the national-provincial relationship. In 1970 the Bund-Länder Commission for educational planning was founded. But in Germany, as in Canada, decision-making in education is firmly placed with the State or provincial government. We cannot easily get from the reviews a clear picture of the role that federal planning authorities might play in either country possibly because the relationships between them were still being worked out at the time of the reviews.

In England and Wales, the machinery and procedures for planning developed quite early in our period. In 1961 the Plowden Report on Public Expenditure Control created the system of PESC* which is a committee of senior officials making annual reports to ministers on priorities between departments. The National Plan of 1965 was intended to be a decisive move towards indicative planning although its hopeful statements about educational investment now seem outdated. Anthony Crosland created a planning branch in 1967 which produced planning papers that led to widespread discussion. In 1970 the Programme

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* Public Expenditure Survey Committee.

Analysis and Review system started within the Treasury and this required departments to make a programme analysis of some of their areas of expenditure. The Department of Education and Science's planning branch gave way to the Department of Planning Organisation in 1971 which was an attempt to bring together different policy areas into a coherent whole without taking away the policy-making functions of the main branches. Policy Groups under a Policy Steering Group were created and serviced by a planning unit and it was they who drafted the White Paper of 1972, "Education: A Framework for Expansion" (Cmnd 5174). The examiners thought this to be excellent in itself but raised questions about the political and participative nature of the process whilst endorsing the quality of the resulting decisions and analysis.

The Dutch, as represented in their review held in 1969, were concerned to make society more productive through education. This theme was certainly not abandoned by the time of the 1976 review but the broadening of both the goals and the techniques of planning in the intervening years is clearly evident from the 1975 Contours Plan. In the earlier review, however, they were searching for a positive relationship between the growth of the economy and the development of the education system. The Dutch planned for an increase in industrial output of 39.5% between 1965 and 1970 while manpower was expected to rise by only 4.5%. "This kind of development can only be achieved by increasing the proportion of the highly skilled and educated labour force." This could be done, it was argued, by bringing more talent forward from lower social classes "... measures to develop Dutch education to meet economic and social aims can take on a new specificity and congruence."*

The Dutch exemplified the relationship between education and productivity, as did the Japanese in a rather different way. Holland's industrial growth was rapid (73% between 1958 and 1966) and its leading sector, chemicals (172% expansion) "was the very embodiment of high technology". ** Holland was and is strongly dependent on the export of sophisticated products. It had a high investment from overseas. "The high rate of Dutch spending on education from public sources and private and government assisted outlays on training, research and development may not only be one of the conditions which assures the Netherlands its extreme dependence on foreign trade but also that which fosters further external investment to continue the dynamics of productivity improvement."*** The meaning, if not the language, of this statement is clear. It is not surprising, perhaps, that the Dutch should still argue for this relationship so strongly in the Contours Memorandum of 1975.

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* Reviews of National Policies for Education: Netherlands, OECD, Paris, 1970, p. 7.

** Ibid., p. 13.

*** Ibid., p. 14.

The Dutch attempt to relate education to production also led them to make education itself a more productive and systematic activity. In 1969 the examiners were reporting at a time when the Dutch had established "a most valuable framework for educational planning"* and when the work done by individual constituent institutions commanded respect. But the necessary machinery to develop long-term planning (they worked on an annual budgetary system) and to co-ordinate planning both within and between levels of their governmental system had not been developed.

Various planning institutions were using sophisticated cost-effectiveness techniques, but the examiners found no distinction made between the consumption and investment aspects of education. The Central Planning Bureau was early in the field in attempting manpower planning, but it tended to assume that education should follow manpower demands. At the time of this earlier Dutch Review it was felt that it should be applied to a larger perspective. Again, while the Dutch Foundation for Educational Research was thought to be "making an admirable effort to organise research",** it had weak links with innovation in the classroom.

So the Dutch, who were able to assert the relationship between education and economic investment so well, were in the late 1960s still emphasizing too much the quantitative rather than the qualitative aspects of education and were criticized for the lack of an overall planning model. The Contours Plan in 1975 was seen by the examiners, in contrast, as an attempt to see education as a whole. It was commended as an approach for other countries. "Active policy-making is required, based on broad plans for the very long time horizon."*** There was thus a great move away from what the examiners found in 1969.

In rehearsing these changes of emphasis from the quantitative to the qualitative mode and from the economic to the political, it should be recognized that national planning systems always must take a view of the patterns of resource expenditure. The review system itself could not, at this date, (1979) produce examples of follow-through of the more "political" and participative exercises. Future reviews might do so.

GOVERNANCE AND PARTICIPATION

As emphasis has moved from the economy to the political issues involved in handling planning, problems of governance and participation have come to the fore. This trend has been consistent with secular movements of thought and sentiment as interest in the benefits of social distribution has increasingly merged into demands for a say in what is being distributed, to whom, and how. Participation has become an objective in its own right, if often loosely and diffusely defined.

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* Ibid., p. 32.

** Ibid., p. 35.

*** Netherlands, Contours of a Future Education System, op.cit., p. 20.

The movements in thought have been all the more striking when one considers the point from which they started. Education is traditionally an activity where authority patterns are strong. It is well within the recollection of most adults that the school and the university were centres of intellectual and social authority and certainty. The school's authority was based on the authority of governments to create educational policy and on the authority of teachers to promulgate socially endorsed values and modes of behaviour. In the universities, the right of academic authority to make judgements about content and standards and, as a consequence, to license a social elite, was not in doubt.

By the time of our series of reviews, the belief in academic, educational and scientific authority was being challenged in virtually every country. Nowhere in the reports other, perhaps, than in the earliest of the Dutch reports are the claims of scientific and academic authority upheld. Institutional authority, as embodied in schools and universities, was the first target of attack in the later 1960s. Later, the focus shifted to the distribution of power within the total education system. In some countries, where jurisdictions are multiple, the debate and tension between conflicting forces were already evident throughout the whole range of governmental and institutional levels. The jurisdictional issues of the relationship between the German Federal and provincial governments, the similar problems experienced in Canada and Australia, are themes which are partly but not wholly independent of the new demands for participation. In Holland, however, the "structural pluralism" entailed in the distribution of rights to different confessional and other groups led the examiners to comment on the dangers of authoritarianism that might develop when smaller groups rather than the whole national authority have a determinant say. They argued that parents rather than the denominations or churches were important. They noted that the individual parental powers had become delegated to various local and central bodies which had become "permanent establishments of educational policy, parallel to that (sic) of the government". "The pluralistic control would seem to be more of a conservative guarantee than an instrument for democratic control and educational progress."* In saying this, they noted how some were interdenominational or advanced special educational philosophies. And they also noted with approval the absence of evidence that the freedom to establish private schools is being used to set up separate schools for the children of higher social classes. Echoes of both the examiners' approval and their cautions may be discerned in some of the tensions between central determination and local freedoms discussed in the Norwegian Review in 1974.

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* *Reviews of National Policies for Education, Netherlands*, 1970, p. 20.

The Dutch Contours Memorandum (1976) continued the discussion about the distribution of power. In that document, participation emerged as a self-evident good and one of the components of equality. The school should be a community in which its pupils should be involved in the determination of teaching arrangements. Older pupils should not only choose courses but have a say in the way the school is run, in the appointment of staff and be responsible for pupil-orientated school activities. At the same time teachers' councils should be established and consulted on appointments and on the lay-out of the school. There was a note of caution. The authorities "reject any form of complete self-government by teachers and pupils together ... it would not do justice to the general social function which the school has".* Instead, they would have school boards consisting half of representatives of community and only half of parents, teachers, non-teaching staff and students over the age of eighteen.

The examiners commented: "it is a mistake to identify the community interest with that of the parent whose children are attending the school at a particular point of time. Correctly interpreted the community includes parents of both past and future pupils, and even some who are not and never will be parents of children of the school, but nonetheless have an interest and appreciation of local matters."**

The French Review, too, represented at least some movement, if nervously, towards changes in participation. The schools' links with parents have been poor; attempts are being made to improve them and the ways in which schools might work with other social agencies in multi-purpose buildings.

It is, perhaps, in German education, and most particularly German higher education, that the conflict between social cohesion and control and individual and small group freedom has been most sharply expressed. The examiners noted that even where teachers had begun to express outward-looking tendencies these were frequently suppressed by the school systems centralised within each Land. Those who sought to play a more significant part in educational development felt neglected. Government circles had a serious commitment to educational reform but that was not widely diffused. As in the Dutch Review, the examiners noted how participation could lead to an increase in educational rigidity and conservatism rather than flexibility or progressivism. Extending control to wider groups could mean more pressure on the actual participants. There were, moreover, difficulties in getting right the balance between the federal and the state authorities.

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* Netherlands, Contours of a Future Education System, op.cit., p. 21.

** Ibid., p. [illegible].

In higher education, however, an old and rigid and hierarchical structure had been flooded by new students and was obviously out of date by the 1960s. "But the German public, suffering from a surfeit of both student trouble and university blueprints had grown weary of the whole issue."* Political polarisation of extremist groups of students had made student participation in decision-making weaker rather than stronger and rigidified university administration and organisation. "The German education authorities were, in a sense, now trapped between these polarised forces"* and would find it difficult to move further forward.

In the more recent Canadian Review (1975), the examiners tested the structural issues by questioning the nature of the resulting educational policies. The Canadian authorities were criticised because they had not thought through a range of options which would "present the choices made in a persuasive framework of alternatives" and for failing "to establish structures and procedures whereby all the parties concerned with education can be actively brought into discussion of issues, on a regular, systematic and recognized basis, aiming at building up a sense of genuine participation by the interests involved in policy formulation, implementation and evaluation". **

A similar theme emerged in the Review on England and Wales and even more in the Parliamentary Inquiry, which followed it, into decision-making in the Department of Education and Science. There was a full encounter, published verbatim, on issues of participation. The examiners spoke of the "privacy" of British government, usefully so in the view of some familiar*** with the British system who also thought, however, that the examiners had not fully appreciated the relationship between the British civil service and the political system. In Britain as elsewhere, it might be ministers rather than their advisers who reduce the options available for discussion in the wider community. The system might be "closed" as a result of respect for the democratic convention of strong ministerial discretion and responsibility.

The Norwegian Review attracted particular attention, not least because of the vigour of the review meeting held in Paris. Norway, as a small country and one in which consensus based on a drive towards equality, has given rise to a centralised system of education. In recent years, however, a loosening of controls has been envisaged through programmes of regionalisation, decentralisation, participation and differentiation. The Norwegian Review does not seem to raise strong questions of principle in its treatment of participation but it is unusual among the reports in offering an analysis of the way in which participative doctrines apply at the many levels of the educational service. It was argued, however, by the Norwegian delegation, that because of the strong powers located in the Storting and because of the care with which different groups have been consulted by the centre, central decisions have not been resented. There was the risk that when one central body relinquishes authority, some other central body, such as groups of experts or professional associations or other government agencies, may move to take up the power. At the same time, however, the Norwegian authorities sponsored the thought that it was the responsibility of a democratic government not to wait for pressure for participation but to look out for opportunities to install it. "When pressures for decentralization arise at local levels, then is the time to decentralize."* Participation was itself an educational activity.

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* Reviews of National Policies for Education: Germany, OECD, Paris, 1972, p. 145.

** Reviews of National Policies for Education: Canada, OECD, Paris, 1976, p. 144.

*** Interviews held in 1978.

Several somewhat untidy strands thus remain. The purposes of first generation planning were to enhance equality as well as the economy but took little account of the fact that people want a voice in the formulation of their aspirations. It was not possible, however, to turn educational governance into a gigantic folk moot because many of the decisions were not only technical in character but also demanded an authoritative decision, if action were to follow, and this might have to aggregate wholly disparate points of view in the wider society. So when future OECD examiners look forward to new modes of participative government they have to recognize that the changes might be more of mode and style than of substance or, for that matter, of the range of opinions that ultimately make themselves heard. The Swedish Review, at the beginning of our period, hoped that political consensus could be arrived at through the network of Royal Commissions and Parliamentary Committees. These were, and still are, institutions where interest groups can meet with those responsible for educational decision-making, where technical planning for education can be exposed to public view, and where fact-finding and research can flow into a system of rolling reform. We lack case studies demonstrating something better than this traditional liberal democratic mode of proceeding.

The concept of participation in itself is not only ambiguous but also difficult to advance so as to reconcile multiple interests. Different value emphases are expressed and single systems attempt all of the following: competent planning at the national level so that decisions can be made; participation by strong particularist groups such as the denominations in Holland, the research centres in the United States, the teachers' associations in Britain; the right of local communities to govern; the right of people within local communities to be free of parochialism - points urged in both the Norwegian and Dutch Reviews.

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* Reviews of National Policies for Education: Norway, OECD, Paris, 1976, p. 75.

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It is obvious from the reviews that new concepts of governance are being expressed and examined. For the most part, the descriptions are of minor, even trivial, constitutional changes although the movements in political philosophy and feeling are also clear. But it might not be fanciful to believe that alternative models of society are entailed in participative planning and that the OECD could build on the start made in the country reviews, as in some of its other literature* so as to clarify the range of possibilities. It is not for the OECD to postulate any particular package of values or of institutions. But the potential range and the consequences of implementing some of the participative models could usefully be brought out into the open.

RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

A theme emerging from several reports is the importance of educational research and development. The earliest of the reports reviewed here, the Irish, invested some hope in stimulating research, The Swedes assumed from the beginning that it would form part of data collection for critical review of their rolling reforms. The Austrians established a new university devoted to educational research and training. The Dutch, as part of their Contours system, established innovation committees covering the whole of their structure.

One of the OECD reviews concentrated almost exclusively on research and development. The United States Review published in 1971, was one of the more specialist studies of country activities. United States national authorities willingly offered themselves to an examination of their R and D activities and themselves provided an expert input in depicting and evaluating the subject both through their background report and through the composition and participation of their team at the review meeting held in November 1969.

The report was unique in concentrating more on the institutional and political aspects of the relationship between government and science in the field of educational R and D than on the substance of research - a point which some American bureaux, particularly the Bureau of the Budget (as it then was) thought to be a fault in the review. The report evaluated the conterminous nature of goals of educational policy and of R and D whilst also demonstrating that the research community, the educational policy system and other areas of governance, build up divergent power structures. It thus contributed to the notion that planning is uncertain, and multi-value, and the concern of many stake-holders.

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* Centre for Educational Research and Innovation; Alternative Educational Futures in the United States and in Europe: Methods, Issues and Policy Relevance, OECD/CERI, Paris, 1972.

And it showed that research organisation is an issue of politics and government and not simply a technocratic and scientific matter.

Educational R and D raises may issues that are now important within policy systems. Three interconnected points emerge from the United States Review. There is the contrast between the linear, or system engineering, model of R and D, in which it is assumed that fundamental research can lead to applications and dissemination, and a more pluralistic and multi-dimensional model in which it is thought that innovation can start at all points within the system. The contrast between the models is relevant to the issue of who has authority over the knowledge base and who regulates the value intensities in education. It is thus an issue of governance. There can be conflict between publicly accountable authorities such as ministries or parliaments, and teacher freedom to work out their own values, knowledge and practitioner art. Finally, and crucially, there is the problem of implementation: will innovation reach the classroom?

This theme stated largely in the abstract in the United States Review, received more detailed treatment in the Norwegian one. The country authorities wanted to consider how far planning led to implementation and involved full participation from all within education. The leader of their delegation observed that reforms not only cost money; they are often very demanding in terms of motivation, stamina, fantasy, hard thinking and efforts to convince the sceptical. The authorities believed that innovation had reached most Norwegian schools in one form or another. They also here eloquently represented the ways in which reformers in the central ministry may establish frameworks of planning and may bring to their aid a research and development system. The question whether these devices enable the more fundamental shifts in values to be realized in the schools remains outstanding.

V

SUBSTANTIVE EDUCATIONAL ISSUES

STRUCTURAL CHANGES IN EDUCATIONAL ORGANISATION

Thus far, this report has concentrated on changes in objectives and in the systems by which objectives are stated, generated and administered. But the redirection of purposes and values has had its most profound effects in the changing ways in which secondary education has been organised and higher education has been provided in the last twenty years in Europe, and, to a lesser extent, in the non-European OECD countries.

Many reports refer to pre-schooling and to the benefits to be derived from its expansion: the Japanese, the British White Paper, the French Review and the proposal in the Dutch Contours Plan for a primary school covering ages 4 to 12 all assume, without much argument, that pre-schooling is beneficial. The most recent Austrian Review (1978) however, notes uncertainty as between the social and educational functions of a greatly increased pre-school provision, and observed that in spite of the Viennese school of psychologists' classic contribution to knowledge of child development there has been little evolution of theory or policy.

Education as the great selector, differentiator and preparer for the economy takes on a particular importance as pupils reach the age of transfer to secondary education. Yet pre-schooling has been an area where the content and relevance of what happens in education could have been most rigorously tested because it is not part of the statutory provision in most countries; facilities have varied widely. The relative neglect of pre-schooling, and the transition to the primary school, may indicate that country authorities, at least as they reveal themselves in OECD examinations, are concerned more with the social and economic functions of education than with educational processes in their own right, or that the issues are thought to be less difficult to analyse and determine given adequate resources.

The grand issues have been concerned with how children of compulsory school age will be educated. As has already been indicated, and as is explicit in the French and the Swedish background reports, the changes in concept were thought to be driven on by changes in the sizes of groups involved. In France, systems created for the training and selection of elites were severely tested by the large age cohorts which they must accept and treat on more equal terms.* The same was thought to be true of the Swedish secondary system.

Hitherto, French education, typically of the pre-war model throughout Europe, placed a high value on the literary skills, on abstraction, in which even the teaching of mathematics was essentially literary in concept. The same assumptions, and even the same organisational nomenclature, appeared in many OECD countries during the period of the extension and creation of their public school systems.

In France, the epitome of the classic concept of educational excellence, education existed not simply to pass on a culture but to train, through selective secondary and higher education, the future executives and teachers of society; whilst the primary school system would instill the majority with the basic knowledge and attitudes required to maintain the economy and society. As in other countries, France is now trying to reconcile the democratic and quality elements of the system with models of intellectual excellence. Education was indeed planned for the economy so that good opportunities for further education and the retraining of adults were available. In France as in Austria the examiners argued for stronger forms of educational guidance. The background report published in 1971 relates how they decided in 1963 to set up comprehensive, or polyvalent schools. There would be a first cycle of secondary education in which pupils could orientate themselves before choices must be made. The second cycle would lead pupils to a three- or two-year course. And the same notion of exploration would be a characteristic of the first year of higher education.

In Austria, in 1968, the report showed an extremely orthodox selective pattern in which the primary schools (Volksschulen and Hauptschulen) still provided education for the majority from 6 to 14. Within the primary school some 30% stayed in the Volksschulen until the end of their schooling but a majority was able to enter a Hauptschule specialist course (53.6% in 1964/65; those figures slightly improved in 1967/68). A minority was able to enter a general secondary school. The upper grades of the Volksschulen were being phased out but regional disparities were marked so that in Vienna none remained whilst in Vorarlberg province just under 50% of pupils still attended them.

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* This is a pervasive assumption but is it not a non sequitur? Why cannot expanded systems also cater for elites? This has certainly happened in Japan and still operates in Austria. Indeed, did not all elite systems of secondary education become firmly established through periods of great expansion? This point is reinforced by the experience of Holland where expansion did not lead to changes in structure, as discussed later in this chapter.

Transfer to the general secondary schools from the Hauptschulen was rare: about 1 in 200* pupils in 1967/68. Entry to the secondary schools was strongly related to social class. Entry to them from a larger proportion of the population grew in the 1960s.

The Austrian example, recorded in the review of 1968, sums up much that was still happening elsewhere. (For example, Britain only achieved its aim of eliminating its remaining rural all-age schools in 1968.) The last review, recorded that in 1977 only 1% were still in the upper divisions of the Volksschulen. Yet there is now a three-stream lower secondary school system, and the retention of selection at ten years aroused considerable interest from other countries at the 1978 review meeting.

In Holland in 1969 the examiners noted how the phenomenal economic growth, dependent as it was on high technology, was not accompanied at that time by changes in educational structure. Expansion of the old rather than the introduction of the new had been the way of securing an adequate labour preparation. Only recently have nine years of education been made compulsory, although the majority stayed on for a longer period voluntarily. The birth rate and other social changes had greatly enlarged the pre-school and secondary school populations. Holland was able to sustain the old forms of education because all of them expanded. All the graduates were being absorbed by the economy which could afford to expand the school and higher education systems. Yet education was indeed planned for the economy so that good opportunities for further education and the retraining of adults were available. As in Austria, the examiners argued for stronger forms of educational guidance. Yet social disparities were sustained and it seemed to the examiners that "the integration of primary education into the newly expanded system was hindered by views carried over from an earlier date, when it was terminal". **

At the time of the 1969 review, streaming still began at the age of 12. Only the most able were allowed to transfer to the preferred secondary schools. Streaming was undertaken through an initial bridge year in secondary education. But there was no consultation with the primary school and teacher bias could enter in. The grammar schools were isolated from the rest and only 8.4% in 1961 graduated from them. Transfer to them was negligible.

This position in Holland was to be radically altered, at least in intent, by the 1975 Contours Plan which moved towards a comprehensive school for 12-to-16s. There was to be heterogeneous age grouping. Selection would take place only through the provision of homogeneous groups or sets. There were to be more common core courses but differentiation of treatment for all individuals and an avoidance of early and unilateral selection. The high school for 16-to-19s would differentiate at 16 into three streams. But all three streams were to be in one school. "... only then ... can easy transfer be promoted and canalisation be avoided."* The examiners explicitly sponsored the comprehensive school. They thought it possible to have a middle school that was broad and at the same time provided an academic basis for higher education.

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* The equivalent transfer rate in England and Wales in the same period was about 2%.

** Reviews of National Policies for Education: Netherlands, OECD, Paris, 1970, p. 17.

In Italy, comprehensivisation had gone ahead fast even at the time of their report (1967). From being a harshly divisive education system, they moved towards a lower secondary school for the 11-to-14s which all would attend. It would be preceded by experimental classes. After 14, however, the divisions into the "licei" and into the teachers' colleges and other vocational institutions would be made: practices criticised by the examiners.

The Japanese had opened up their system so that university enrolments expanded by about six times over 20 years, and 80% of the age group were in the upper secondary schools. The selective school system, initiated in 1872, had introduced a fair system of competition which, in less than half a century, it was claimed, had broken down the centuries' old pattern of social stratification, had stimulated social mobility and helped create a modern, highly industrialized society.

But the Japanese delegation did not deny that it had ~~led to~~ a purely instrumental view of education, of education for social success, and that the diverse talents of different individuals were disregarded. At the same time there was a struggle to get social order and tradition accepted as compatible with individual liberty.

The Japanese example is important because, on the criterion of economic efficiency, the traditional system undoubtedly worked. As the examiners pointed out, the present reforms of liberalisation, of reduction of competition and the concomitant stigma and strain, would lead to some sacrifice of efficiency in social selection.

In Canada, too, "the most important development in the educational system of Canada in the last two decades has been the systematic build up of a public comprehensive school system, in all 10 provinces and in the two Territories administered by the Federal Government".** The examiners thought these changes had not been systematically evaluated but noted a particularly sharp change for the French-speaking population, so that in Quebec, especially, "an entire educational system has moved from a closed, fragmented and elitist structure to a unified and open one, from an outmoded, narrowly-centred classical curriculum to a modern and comprehensive one, from a church-dominated, restrictive philosophy to a laicised and permissive one". *

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* Netherlands, Contours of a Future Education System, op. cit., p. 17.

** Reviews of National Policies for Education: Canada, op.cit., p. 30.

Only in the latest reports is there any hint of the reaction to comprehensive schools; (though, as we have noted, the Austrians have not gone the whole way, and the German report does not give a full account of the patchy development in the different Länder). In Australia (1976) moves were being made towards the common neighbourhood high school to which all pupils will go at the age of 12. The review states criticisms of this policy which are not always, as the examiners report, consistent with one another. The difficulties of the neighbourhood school in removing socio-economic discrimination; the persistence of de facto streaming and the effect that attempts to diversify the curriculum has of closing options to pupils before they are experienced enough to make choices; an alleged lowering of levels of verbal and numerical attainment and "a cavalier attitude to hard work", the dominance of academic work in the 11th and 12th grades and the existence of a substantial non-government sector, are objections made to the current comprehensive system. These are all criticisms of judgement rather than of fact. But they are problems that might be found in virtually every OECD country where comprehensive schooling has gone ahead. The controversy over whether they should be common schools is completed in most countries. The working out of how the schools will best operate is the remaining issue.

The examiners' critique of the selection arrangements in Austria (1978) was similarly derived from a priori value positions. The system was noted as being strikingly different from those in most countries in that they relied predominantly on primary school teachers' judgements which might well "serve to reinforce some already conservative elements in the Austrian social system. The support for a hierarchical ordering of occupations and ranks is a marked feature of Austrian life ... Austrian teachers tend to reflect such attitudes". ** At the review meeting, however, the Austrian delegation indicated a new concern about their selection arrangements.

The reader of the OECD reviews will note, then, the enormous changes in secondary education in Member countries, although many of them have only come to fruition at the end of our period and after the times of the early reviews. The drive towards the common secondary school derived from growing understanding of the effects of early selection. The processes by which changes of this order became almost universal cannot be documented but the promulgation of such national experiments as those of the Swedish authorities in the early 1950s, through the OECD network, might well have reinforced the movements of opinion elsewhere. The common high school has a long history in North America but took over in the European countries as a virtually separate movement. Most of the examiners have been unequivocally in favour of the changes as they have seen them and may have reinforced trends already set in motion.

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* Reviews of National Policies for Education: Canada, op.cit., p. 30.

** Reviews of National Policies for Education: Austria, School Policy, OECD, Paris, 1979, p. 19.

As yet, however, there is no systematic evaluation of the effects of comprehensive education, at least by the OECD, and the arguments deployed both in favour of and against it in the countries and in the examiners' reports have been based upon a priori reasoning. This is an important example, perhaps, of how examiners can evaluate frameworks but not form a view of impacts as perceived in the schools.

UPPER SECONDARY EDUCATION

It is an iron law of educational development that no change can be self-contained. If changes are made to integrate and democratise lower secondary education, which usually caters in most countries for pupils between 11 and 16 years, expectations are built up so that pressure is exercised on upper secondary education.

Those pressures have been both quantitative and qualitative, although because upper secondary education is nowhere part of compulsory schooling, the growth of student numbers has been more volatile. For example, we have already noted that in the most recently documented case of Australia, the numbers of pupils in the 16 to 18 age range increased by 130% between 1962 and 1974. Since 1970 growth has slowed down but there has been an increase in the proportion of girls enrolled. In Norway, as in many other countries, the authorities proclaimed the policy that all pupils had the right to further education for three years beyond the compulsory retention age even though it will mean a 50% expansion of places. The facts of expansion are easily taken for granted. No social service other than education would aim for such large-scale expansions in these times.

Once granted the quantitative expansion, the most significant issues have been those of academic and social purposes. The period at the end of school life is one where the tension between preparation for higher education and training for work can no longer be disguised. The received tradition can be typified as dichotomous: it differentiated sharply between education for the elite who were about to enter university, and the education for trade and craft in various forms of further education institutions.

Countries almost everywhere have grappled with the conflict between the need to differentiate for educational purposes and the need to integrate upper secondary education for social and mobility reasons. Some have sought to compromise. The Swedes in their reforms of the 1960s deferred differentiation until 16. In the 1960s pupils demonstrated strong preferences for the academic choices contained in the Gymnasium rather than for the more vocational offerings of the Fackskola or the vocational lines of the reformed Gymnasium. This is no longer true. Austria now provides a prolific choice for its young people but the lines of differentiation are set for many pupils when the ablest join the lower classes of the Gymnasium at 10 to 11 years and stay there for eight. They thus retain the practice formerly to be found in the all-through British grammar school.

In many countries the attempt has been made to establish parity or combined facilities for all of those who stay on beyond 16 although in some countries integrated upper secondary education has existed for many years. So far, in spite of this, the format of the Gymnasium remains strong. The demands for linkage between school and working life, the pressures created by attempts to compensate for youth unemployment, as well as the more overt egalitarian impulses of the Member countries, are likely to cause even more radical change as time goes on.

HIGHER EDUCATION

In higher education, too, changes have been marked. They have been of several kinds.

First, there are the enormous changes in access: higher education is no longer for an elite but for the mass of the population. Between 1960 and 1970 the annual increase in new enrolments in higher education ranged from 5 to 12% in the different countries.*

Secondly, there have been corresponding attempts to reduce the intensely prestige-related hierarchy of higher education institutions.

Thirdly, there has been the democratisation of universities. The prestige of the professor, most clearly specified in the German and Japanese Reviews, but existing elsewhere as well, has given way to arrangements in which to different degrees non-professorial staff and students have become parties to decision-making on academic matters.

The Swedish experience is not as yet documented by OECD but will be part of the subject of the review to take place in 1979. In Holland in 1970 higher education was still exclusive. But three new trends were being remarked. Lesser institutions were being elevated to university rank. Shorter courses were being introduced into the universities and colleges and university branches were being provided to make room for them. Work outside the universities was being recognized as being of university level.

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* Education Policies and Trends, OECD, Paris, 1977.

Non-university post-secondary education grew from an enrolment of 111 per 1,000 to 141 per 1,000 between 1965 and 1975. There was also an impressive expansion of the traditional universities. Yet, paradoxically, the Higher Education Act for Universities strengthened the barrier between the universities and the non-university systems.

As radical as it was in most respects, the Dutch Contours Scheme upheld the principle of the binary system of education which is also policy in Britain and Australia. If higher education becomes a theme for cross national study by the OECD, the different concepts of "binaryism" (public versus private sectors, vocational versus liberal emphases and university versus grandes écoles embodying different training objectives) would make an interesting and important analysis.

The expansion strained existing concepts of autonomy of the universities in Holland. They are now, as everywhere else, subjected to central government planning as to numbers and purposes, although not as to the modes of teaching and recruitment of students. There have been, as well, changes in the participation of students in decision-making. There is a growth of student influence everywhere. Academic councils contain student representation. Yet the universities remained until the mid-60s quite free in their arrangements. Once again, however, massive changes were indicated in the Contours Memorandum "Everyone should be admitted to higher education who wants it and is suited for it."* There was an explicit attempt to end the segregation between university education and higher vocational educational. A primary distinction according to the institution offering the course was to be replaced by a primary distinction according to the places being offered. There was not an attempt to integrate the centres but to reform each of them. This is, it might be said, basically what has happened in Britain as well.

In France, too, many of the same forces were at work. The "push and pull" noted by the examiners meant that there was pressure for access to higher education (push) and demands from the economy for more manpower (pull). The proportion of those passing the baccalaureat remained the same while numbers vastly increased. This placed strain on the dichotomous system in which the university faculties became places of open access while the "grandes écoles" were still places where access was highly competitive.

Changes in the relationship between the State and higher education were momentous. University and grandes écoles teachers are civil

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* Reviews of National Policies for Education: Netherlands, Contours of a Future Education System, op.cit., p. 17.

52

servants and all higher education consists of State institutions. But the 1968 "loi d'orientation" created the idea of the autonomous and corporate university, multidisciplinary and self-governing by staff and students. The old faculties were to be replaced by confederations for teaching and for research (unités d'enseignement et de recherche). These UERs could be grouped into "pluridisciplinary" universities. There were 664 UERs created by October 1969. Since the review, the French have sustained their policies of diversifying university education so as to make it more responsive to economic needs as with the creation of technological university institutes.

There were to be common courses in the first cycle of higher education which was to be linked with orientation or guidance for students and there was to be more flexibility and mobility in the second cycle. The grandes écoles were not really integrated into those, however, and it was in the university sector that the main changes were contemplated.

In Japan, quite similar changes were under discussion. The public universities were to become autonomous corporations. The less prestigious private universities were already so but highly dependent on public funds. The need for creating departments and stronger universities was recognized.

The education system was bearing the weight of social selection. "It was clear that ... the declared objectives of the present reforms - greater attention to human enrichment, avoidance of the excessive strains of the selection process, of the irrelevant expenditure of effort, it entails, and of the stigmatisation of the graduates of low prestige institutions - would probably entail some sacrifice of efficiency in the social selection function."*

In Austria (1978 Review) again the numbers of students had greatly increased. Yet there was still considerable differentiation between regions in the take up of places. There was a high rate of non-completion of courses, as in France. "Seminars" of 80 students were not uncommon. The examiners took an overall view that there had been great change in education generally but no real change within the universities. The examiners, however, found much to commend in the diversification and variety of higher education in Canada.

In this account, it is not possible to document all of the numerical and qualitative changes in higher education. Yet in the numbers and proportion of population being admitted, in the range and differential status of institutions, in the relationships between hitherto autonomous institutions and the State upon which they were now to depend for so much of their funding, there has hardly been any area of public activity where the changes have been so great. The OECD reviews published so far inevitably deal with the broadening of functions and the expansion of numbers. They have not been able to anticipate the move into "steady state" planning, or the period of uncertainties that now assail young people as they ponder on their employment prospects. Nor have the OECD reports given much lead on the alternative ways of using the higher education system as has recently been attempted in a discussion document* issued by the British Education Departments. Nor, so far, have they analysed the different concepts of "binaryism" which translate some of the problems of differentiation, experienced in the lower and upper secondary schools, into higher education. However, in the opinion of some, the influence of OECD in the field of higher education has been considerable.** There can be no certain proof but the suggestion is that it was some sort of informal OECD network that made the expansion of higher education, and the resulting changes, thinkable.

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* Reviews of National Policies for Education: Japan, op.cit., p. 26.

TEACHER TRAINING

Teacher training has not been central to any country report. Yet the issues are universal. Almost all countries divide the education of teachers between university courses for those teaching in selective secondary education and education for primary and non-selective secondary teachers in monotechnic teachers' colleges. A further variant, lurking now in the distant past of some countries, but still present in some, is the education of teachers within the secondary school system in normal schools or colleges where the course starts at the age of 15 or 16. These have remained in Italy and Austria but no longer exist in France.

Increasingly, attempts have been made to bring teacher education into the mainstream of higher education in which teachers' education for personal intellectual development is combined with professional training. A second issue has been, however, that of teacher supply. The background reports do not show the astonishingly volatile movements to which the different countries have been subjected. In Austria in 1978 teacher unemployment was seen as a problem to be faced, particularly since there had been rejection of the numerus clausus. Some time before the 1967 review, the Swedes were predicting a surplus of teachers, as occurred in 1971/72. Now, however, when other countries certainly do experience a surplus, there is a shortage in some of the urban parts of Sweden.

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* Department of Education and Science and Scottish Education Department, Higher Education into the 1990s: a discussion document, HMSO, February 1978.

** M. Kogan, Educational Policy-Making, Allen and Unwin, 1975, Chapter 10.

Yet further issues concern the in-service training of teachers and their adaptation to the startlingly different forms of education which they must now offer. The links between in-service training and research and development, and particularly the extent to which development will be class-room rather than theory-based, are issues that have attracted attention in the United States and the Norwegian Reviews. In all, however, this important area of activity needs somewhat stronger attention than it has so far received.

RECURRENT EDUCATION AND RELATION OF EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT

Most of the reviews took place in a period of economic buoyancy and at a time when attendance at educational institutions was thought of as a self-evident good. At that time some countries and some examiners certainly concerned themselves with the problems of the relationship between education and work, and the associated general concept of recurrent education. The dialogue between the "hard" economic and "soft" social foundations of education were demonstrated well in the Japanese context. There might be some disappointment that reviews did not investigate preparation for work when they had the opportunity. One criticism, in retrospect, of the German Review is that it only dealt briefly and rather sweepingly with the German system of apprenticeship which constitutes the post-compulsory education for about half of German youth. It recently has become a primary issue of German education policy as well as a focus of international interest. That retrospective criticism gains force in that, in the last five years, with the recessions triggered off by the 1973 oil crisis, these issues come to the fore.

The English and Welsh authorities were criticized because they failed to make the education of 16-to-19 year-olds a major issue in their otherwise wide-ranging 1972 White Paper. This was partly because plans for that age group have always been difficult to clarify but also because youth unemployment and education for school leavers were not then issues as central as they became by the time the examiners visited and reported in 1974.

By 1976, however, the Australian Review took up, on the initiative of the country authorities, the range of questions concerning the interface between the education system and the labour market or employment system. They did so when Australians were experiencing the universal uncertainty about the value of tertiary education after a period of optimism and growth and, paradoxically, at the same time, the sharpening of "credentialism", or the artificial raising of qualification requirement for jobs whose content had not changed. Australians, too, were encountering the belief that schools were not preparing pupils "intellectually or attitudinally" for work.

The Austrian Review (1978) contained a great deal of interesting information about the transition from school to work. It is a striking feature of the Austrian system that it offers an extensive range of vocational schools - "the jewel in the Austrian crown" as the examiners described it - which closely reflect the structure of the Austrian economy, and attempt to meet its varied labour force needs. Only 8% of 16-year-olds do not pursue any kind of further education. There are increases in the numbers entering apprenticeships and middle-level vocational training. The Austrian economy was seen to be reaping a rich reward for the heavy investment made in its large range of facilities. There is here indeed a vital link exposed between educational and economic planning: "The Examiners wonder whether yet another explanation for the stability of the Austrian economy and the capacity of the labour market to absorb virtually all the young people ... lies in the comprehensiveness and efficiency of the training facilities, the central role of the apprenticeship system, and the close collaboration of the social partners in assisting young people to make the transition from school to work."*

Such substantive issues as the education of the handicapped and of adult education are not well represented in the whole range of reports but, from the emphasis of the two most recent reports (on Australia and Austria) as well as the Norwegian report, constitute a powerful new item on the international policy agenda.

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* Reviews of National Policies for Education: Austria, School Policy, op.cit., p. 31.

VI

THE PURPOSES, OPERATION AND IMPACT OF OECD REVIEWS

Between them the country reviews record, and pass comment on, large secular and national movements of social values and action, of governmental activity, of institutional change, of popular expectations and attempts to meet them systematically. They reflect on an important epoch in the world's social, economic, educational and intellectual history. They represent considerable efforts of time and other resources on the part of the countries reviewed and the OECD itself.

What were their purposes? Have they had any impact? Are there points about their methods that might be usefully observed?

PURPOSES OF THE REVIEWS

Different countries have different expectations of the reviews. This is compatible with the OECD view, that there is no restriction on what might result. To illustrate this point we can usefully refer to the Norwegian, British, Dutch, Canadian and Australian statements on the subject.

The leader of the Norwegian delegation to the review meeting stated her country's expectations as follows:

> "Norway wanted this examination. During recent decades many changes have been made in our educational system, involving extensive national discussion and debate, and it was time for us to exchange opinions with outsiders ... The examiners may have exaggerated the uniqueness which has made us rather reluctant to import and automatically put to use what we have learnt abroad. We have tried to filter, and to seek solutions at home rather than just copying. This makes it particularly important for us to be examined, observed, and corrected from the outside. We feel that the OECD examination has served this purpose."*

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* Reviews of National Policies for Education: Norway, op.cit., pp. 66-67.

The British summed up many of the potential purposes as follows:

> "Fundamental review for its own sake is not a sufficient justification. The choice of topic and objectives need to be formulated sharply, with an eye to practical results ... Among its less tangible benefits, a review can help to secure, for longer-term questions, attention that they ought to have, but might not get, in the press of day-to-day work. It also gives added thrust to the processes of self-examination and critical reappraisal of received wisdom and current policies ... Indeed its conclusion may prove to be a constructive external validation of ideas already under internal consideration. Conducted in an OECD context a review has the added value of informal comparisons by educational peers with experience of differing political and cultural background."*

The clearest example of the OECD role in the external validation of ideas was that of Holland where the Minister said that:

> "A particular advantage of an OECD review at this early stage in policy formulation was the opportunity it afforded for making direct and effective use of international discussion ... He assured the Committee that the report would receive wide circulation ... and would be put to full use in the follow-up to the Contours Memorandum."**

The German background report was thought to be probably the most thorough stock-taking that had occurred for a long time. It also helped to develop modes and network for practical co-operation in a sensitive area, namely that of the developing Federal-Länder relationship.

The Canadian delegation to the reveiw meeting identified their own objectives for the review as: "... to furnish the OECD and its Member countries with insights into Canadian educational developments and ... policies in a type of federal state which is unique among those Member countries". They also mentioned four other objectives, "to develop an internal report which would be a study of the status of education in Canada","to promote internal study and analysis of educational developments and policies in a regional context ...", "to subject ... policies to external review and to benefit from the advantages of such a process", and, finally, "to identify areas for long-range planning".***

The Australian review was intended to stimulate public debate and lead to reassessment and reappraisal, and perhaps reinforce existing developments. It was also hoped that review would lead to the development of important research documents.

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* Statement submitted to the OECD meeting on "Appraisal of Country Educational Policy Reviews" held in Paris, 18-19 January, 1979.

** Contours of a Future Education System, op.cit., pp. 71-72.

*** Reviews of National Policies for Education: Canada, op. cit., p. 125.

These public statements of country objectives do not, of course, represent what individual countries have actually gained from the procedure. The British, conscious perhaps of the large number of self-evaluations undertaken through advisory council and Green Paper publications, were concerned to demonstrate novel approaches to planning machinery for the benefit of others as well as to gain from external analysis. The earlier Dutch review was undertaken without much interest from the political system, in great contrast to the later Contours exercise.

The expectations of reviews stated by countries touch on two wider issues. They reveal in part some of the characteristics of national decision-making and concepts of planning, both for the sake of the nation being reviewed and for dissemination to other countries. They also raise the question of whether the review system enables OECD to to participate in a new wave of policy studies and policy analysis. We will return to the second point at a later stage.

THE PROCEDURES OF THE REVIEWS

The OECD's procedure is uniform and includes a background report, which is usually prepared by the country authorities in consultation with the OECD Secretariat, a visit by the examiners lasting between one and three weeks, an examiners' report based on their reading of the background report and their visit, and a review meeting, the record of which goes into the published documentation.

Each of these stages reveals both the country reviewed and the OECD mechanisms in somewhat different lights. It will be convenient, therefore, to comment on the different stages in the light of the views expressed by those countries who replied to the Secretariat's request for comments and those who joined the author in informal interviews.

The Country Background Reports

Some of the background reports are among the most exhaustive studies on educational policy available to those countries themselves. The Irish, Swedish, Italian, German, Japananese, Canadian and Norwegian studies are all of that calibre. The specialist reports such as those on the United States (on R and D) and Australia (on transition from school to work) are also major studies which add to previous knowledge. The French report, written by the OECD Secretariat in full co-operation with the French authorities, is a serious work of reflective and literary quality and, in the opinion of one senior and experienced observer, still the best statement on the subject. The Dutch Contours Memorandum (1975) was thought by the examiners to be "a statement of educational analysis, policy and philosophy ... Much of its content had been influenced by experience in many other countries, and it is likely that the Dutch proposals and reforms will themselves feed back to those countries."*

The writing of the Educational Policy and Planning document (1968) was a concentrated effort by the Austrian Ministry. It became required reading for Austrian school personnel. The Italian Review published in 1969 contained a careful appraisal of the whole education system and undoubtedly brought together current policy thinking, and the data backing it, in a way not hitherto attempted.

The Canadian Review (published in 1976) began with a background report in six volumes which was the product of a co-operative effort involving all of the provincial ministries of education, the Council of Education Ministers, and the Federal Government. A co-ordinating committee was established for this exercise. The Canadian authorities viewed the 750 page report as their "internal" review and examination against which the OECD contributed in effect an "external" review.

Those asked in interviews and those who replied in writing thought that the country reports did full justice to the principal theme or themes of the review. Inasmuch as subsequent developments might have suggested other areas of study (as with the onset of youth unemployment in Britain - see page 54), this criticism has no more or less force than that of hindsight judgement.

The preparation of the background reports entailed varying efforts in the collating of information and in constructing a global account of the theme under review. The Swedish report was deliberately an exercise in recording a particular series of ad hoc reforms, within a planned framework, and within a guideline of general objectives. The writing of the report involved considerable effort by some of the most senior members of the Ministry and School and Higher Education Boards. One Norwegian respondent thought the process of writing the background report more important than the examination, and another that writing the report and the rest of the process were important as a learning process for the country involved. The Contours Document (Holland) was published to clarify and generate policy and so involved little extra work for OECD purposes. The British report likewise involved little extra work, since a fair amount of the material describing the Departmental Planning Organisation had already been collated for other purposes.

More important, however, than time and cost, the preparation of country background reports raises questions about the OECD's role in identifying the main issues, in helping the country authorities to specify the areas for national statement; and about how the country authorities can best prepare a fully representative statement. To quite a large extent the ultimate quality of both the background report and the examiners' review depends on the nature of the collaboration between the country authorities, the examiners and the OECD Secretariat who, necessarily, engage in a preliminary analysis of substantive issues as they agree the agenda for the Review.

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* Reviews of National Policies for Education: Netherlands, Contours of a Future Education System, op.cit., p. 28.

On the first point, the commentary from the Canadian authorities states that "more guidance from OECD ... on the planning of the project ... might have led to fewer negative reactions by the examiners to some features of their consultations within the country." They would have liked guidelines with respect to: objectives of a country review; elements of an internal report; and purposes of the external examination. Examiners should familiarise themselves with background material on the education system under review.

It is perhaps fair to say that the Canadian exercise was exceptionally demanding because of the complicated and sensitive jurisdictional issues resulting from inter-governmental relationships and the complexity of the other issues involved. Moreover, the Canadian authorities set high standards inasmuch as they used their review to involve the national and provincial governments in a massive exercise of self-evaluation.

In other countries, OECD guidance on the preparation of the background report was adequate, or better. In the United States, the particular perspective of the report was narrower - R and D in education - and the country report could be correspondingly more sharply focussed. The country authorities made exceptional efforts in producing relevant documentation for the examiners to read before reaching the United States.*

The Swedish authorities were reasonably well satisfied with their report (1967) when asked 11 years later. They were asked whether a process preceding the country background report was not necessary. Should there be a more systematic preliminary analysis before the review got to work? Should there be a deeper analysis of the basic data? Could not the country authorities combine hard and soft methods of evaluation? Should the examiners be given the opportunity not only to read the country report but also listen to the general political debate as well as to the official analysis before moving in?

Among our Swedish interviewees there were differences of opinion. If the examiners attempted to set up a "scientific" framework for enquiry, albeit in consultation with the country authorities, that would

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* This judgement is that of the author who was involved in the review as an examiner.

61

predicate assumptions about the policies to be analysed.* On balance, the Swedes did not think that too much preliminary work of this kind should be done. Collaborative discussions between OECD and the country being visited had served them well in the past and this was the procedure to be adopted in the review to take place in 1979. As for the Australian authorities, they considered that a preliminary visit by the Secretariat had been helpful in developing the programme.

A further issue was that of the representativeness of the report: a difficult but important matter in an era when participation is so highly prized a value. Members of the Norwegian Parliamentary Opposition Party pointed out that their country review was written by the government, or "written by the powerful", in the words of one leading participant. It was sometimes not easy for dissenting views to be expressed although the government might imply that a consensus existed, for example, on the process of evaluation in schools, when it did not do so. Members of the present Norwegian administration believed that more could be done to bring in a wider and more representative selection of views from the country. The German background report met a different issue of representativeness as did the Canadian and Australian: whether they successfully represented a compromise or a collaborative exercise between federal and state or provincial authorities. In Germany, the doctrine of "co-responsibility" in educational planning had only been promulgated in its present form in 1969 and it was therefore daring to have arranged in 1970 for this sensitive question to come under review in 1971.

The Role of the Examiners and of the Examination Visit

The review meeting records, almost without exception, express appreciation of the way in which the examiners worked: some say that they placed the themes within a new perspective or approached them from a novel angle. Because, however, the approach varied, no uniform or certain evaluation of the examiners' role can be made. Thus the visits of the examiners helped to stimulate special group and general public interest in the theme of the examination in some countries as recorded by Australia, Canada, Japan and Holland. In the United States the examiners' meeting and visits seemed to focus activity and controversy within the United States governmental system about the way in which R and D should be identified and authorized.

In other cases, however, the visit of itself did very little. The review of England and Wales was essentially "in house" and only three outside bodies were seen by the examiners. Whether or not the excitation of public interest is necessarily desirable is perhaps debatable and depends on the expectations placed on the review. One type of visit can enable those within a country to participate in an examination of reasonable analytic status whilst another can associate the examiners with the power system and its attempts to reinforce itself.

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* This judgement would not be shared by all. It is possible to create frameworks for enquiry that investigate alternatives as from many different points of view.

No doubt was expressed as to the intellectual calibre of the examiners. As a rule, they have been senior figures in educational and related policy areas and, evidently care is taken to produce a good balance from different countries represented in the OECD. There is certainly some concentration on the English-speaking countries, presumably because it is one of the two official OECD languages and the one in which all country authorities can work. There are also few women examiners. There is a good mixture of politicians, administrators and academics. The results had been high level intelligent commentary largely derived from the advanced wisdom of the democratic, and usually "progressive" West rather than technical analysis.

Some criticisms are to be noted. The Swedish interviewees thought that the examiners were too kind to Swedish policies and would have welcomed a far more critical approach to them. But the reader will see how many of the reports do provide a serious critique of what the examiners found as, for example, in the reports on Austria, Canada, Germany, Japan and the United Kingdom. The critical quality has been welcomed by these countries. Another point was raised by the Canadians who felt that examiners should be appointed at least six months in advance of their visit to a country, and that they should be kept as fully informed as OECD itself about the development of internal activities. "Moreover, there should be some communication among members of the examining team concerning their approach to the examination, probably by correspondence, so that there is reasonable consensus within the team in respect of their expectations and approach to consultation meetings." The Canadians implied that doubts and uncertainties at the country level resulted from lack of this preparation among the examiners. They also believed that the examiners might have formulated some questions in advance for submission to discussion groups as "indicators of the thrust of the discussions in the face-to-face meetings".

A further question raised on the role of the examiners is that they make general judgements rather than deep and detailed technical appraisals, and that is what is expected of them. The reader might then wonder whether the examiners' own values affect the outcomes and whether particular attitudes and assumptions emerge from these reports. It would be easier, if less useful, if the examiners kept to technical appraisal for there is safety in technocracy and little in the uncertain world of value judgements.

Examiners' conclusions are derived from empirical data but are value laden. Thus the examiners sponsor egalitarianism, the reduction in selective barriers in secondary education, the opening up of opportunities in higher education, the assumption that there is a relationship between economic and educational development, and the promulgation of beliefs in the stronger and wider concepts of participation particularly in the governance of higher education. For the most part, too, the countries reviewed display similar views to those of the examiners. But some of the senior Swedish officials,* in interview, asked whether opinions being stated were those of the OECD or of those particular examiners who happened to be selected for particular jobs.**

In Norway, opposition leaders did not think that the OECD inappropriately imported ideas. The examiners were said to understand the problems well. Yet they were thought to reflect particular external trends in thinking, and displayed a "romantic optimism" about education in which Norway itself shared.

A more critical point of view came from West Germany where the federal and state authorities have equal status in representing a "country" view. It was thought that the examiners imported biases on the substance of educational policy and on federal-state relationships. The report tilted towards the federal side, and towards the side of social democratic reform, rather than towards the distinctive role of the Länder governments and to the educational policies of the opposition party which provided the government in five of the eleven Länder. This affected judgements on the location of responsibility for vocational education and on the balance between federal and state powers. It had caused the press and media to assume that the OECD had sponsored a particular "federal" point of view about education. This bias helped neither side of the argument. Even those who took the federal and more social democratic point of view did not feel that the report was sufficiently strong in its study of complex issues to carry convinction. The most important impact was to lend support to criticisms of the system and responsibility for educational policy. The German reply to the OECD enquiry puts the point clearly:

> "There were questions in Parliament which called for confirmation of the examiners' findings that the German education system was dangerously backward, and the German pocket-book edition of the report was called "Bildungswesen: mangelhaft" (Education: Insufficient). Again it is unknown whether anybody's assessment of the situation and goals for future development were changed by the report, but there were certainly many who felt their assessment

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* Interviews held in 1978.

** This was not at all because the Swedish interviewees disagreed with the conclusions of the examiners.

and goals were supported "by the OECD". It is ... understandable in the light of the situation that the review was called upon for support not only on issues of educational policy as such, but also on the issue of the division of responsibility, between federal and Länder governments. To put it pointedly: the review has gained its political weight in Germany not for outside expertise that threw light on some issues, but as a political document in support of the views on education policy and reform held by one side, which included the federal government, in a national dispute."*

Other examples of the examiners' value positions are not difficult to find. We have seen how the examiners' critique of the English and Welsh planning system as being lacking in "daring" or failing to look towards alternative futures, was rebutted too by the British delegation who spoke to the merits of pragmatic, perhaps conservative, and undaring planning related to feasible and present options.

Because reports are specific to time and place no single examination contains a clear and overt attempt to show a range of beliefs. For example, there are respectable arguments in favour of selection in secondary education. There are arguments for restraining the expansion of higher education. The examiners display divided opinions only rarely as when considering the extent to which student participation in the government of institutions can convert them, in the Norwegian phrase, into a constituency equal to that of the teaching staff.

We shall return later to consider the role of the examination which can be crudely divided as between that of analysis and that of catalyst.

The Review Meeting

The examiners' reports cannot be considered outside their relationship to the review meeting.** It is indeed difficult to produce an account of a meeting that adds substantially to either the country background report or the examiners' report. Some participants have said that the meeting may not always keep to the main points or may be something of a ritualistic rehearsal of key points already covered in the written documents, although one or two are mentioned as being major events at which thinking has developed or country styles have been well revealed.

An important issue is brought out by the British experience. The British delegation represented views different from those of the examiners on certain key points. They refuted the contention that the 1972 White Paper should have covered more ground than it did. Its contents were a political decision and it had not been produced for scrutiny by the OECD but as a way of conveying policies derived from the political system. They refuted the examiners' view as to the nature of planning.

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* Statement submitted to the OECD meeting on "Appraisal of Country Educational Policy Reviews", Paris, 18-19 January, 1979.

** Until recently known as the "confrontation meeting".

Their rebuttals certainly extended the debate on the issues contained in the examiners' report. To regard the examiners' report as a final and substantive document before it had been considered at the review meeting was therefore not useful. It would be more valuable, in the view of some of the British,* if an additional part of each of the reports could collate the examiners' views with those expressed at the meeting, or if the examiners' report were not made final until they had taken on board the views expressed at the meeting.

The Australian authorities noted that the meeting could not allow particular themes to be adequately developed and that international interchange beyond the review meeting would add to the resource materials usefully produced by the review process.

The review meetings themselves are revealing even if some do not contribute much to the development of argument. Some countries take care to bring a wide range of national, and not simply government, representatives. The United States, for example, was represented by both federal and state government representatives, and by leading academics. Others are highly "official" in both their membership and their approach to the meeting. Some country groups work informally and spontaneously. Others are hierarchically arranged and managed. The confrontations enable members of the Education Committee, representing all of the OECD countries, to acquaint themselves with a wide range of experiences and concepts as well as with the problems being faced by Member countries.* At least one country represented felt it gained from attendance of the meetings on the Norwegian and British reviews which were noted with interest at home. Yet, at the meeting of country representatives in January 1979, it was felt that more attention should be given to the way in which review meetings were conducted. The examiners should structure the discussion so as to bring out the issues of major multinational importance.

IMPACT OF EXAMINATIONS ON THE COUNTRY REVIEWED

Those countries who answered the Secretariat's enquiry were not always certain of the impact of the examination on their policies. Because policy-making is so often a result of the accidents of time and person, it is not easy to be sure what role an external agency plays in causing change. Writing the country background report might have been useful but did countries respond, either formally through the decision-making system, or informally through the excitation of political interest, to what the examiners said?

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* Interviews conducted in 1978.

In Norway, no impact on Parliament was noted by those concerned with the opposition parties. The process of self-examination, through the background report, was thought to be more important. Members of the present administration felt that there could have been more impact had there been a follow-through procedure involving OECD. This point had been made when the OECD examiners visited Austria for the review of higher education and research (1975). The Austrian authorities then recognized that "many of the recommendations of the earlier report had been realized". It had provided most valuable documentation and valuable guidelines for reform efforts in Austria and for the development of the new ministry. In Canada, although the authorities were critical on certain major specific elements of the report, as well as on the preparation for it, they testified to the way in which the mere fact that there had been such a report stimulated discussion within the country.

The Australian authorities could not assess input fully at this distance from their review but thought that it lent support to specific developments and assisted them by articulating problems and developing something of a national perspective. The examiners' report dealt "coherently and authoritatively with the nation-wide problems of transition from school to work establishing a basis for and encouraging further investigations and discussion".

The difficulties of evaluating impact, particularly when the OECD have deliberately kept an open mind about the objectives of the review system, are best exemplified by the British example where the results were, on the face of it, quite substantial and where the country reply to the Secretariat's enquiry is particularly explicit.

The examiners were thought to have placed the themes deployed in the country report in a new perspective. They might not have originated new thinking but threw into a different relief developments already under way such as the creation of the Department of Planning Organisation. The visit of itself might have had no effect but the resulting report certainly did. It might have affected the general consciousness about the way in which the Department worked, even if this was not a leading issue at the time of the 1972 White Paper. It had proved useful to have planning philosophy and structure looked at by experts from the outside; although those interviewed had differing views on whether the examiners were swimming with ideas that were already in full tide. They had perhaps helped advance changes that were already taking place. For example, they highlighted the limitations of logistics in planning. This was already appreciated by the Department of Education and Science but reinforced by its public statement even if in a critical form.

However, the circumstances of the British review were unique and its specific results were due in part to an accident of premature publication.

The review was intended primarily to display the way in which preparation leading to the 1972 White Paper was undertaken. It was not intended to analyse current educational policies. The examiners' report, without the country background report or the report of the review meeting was, however, leaked in the British press. In the view of the DES* "the examiners' report received inappropriate publicity and attention from premature publication". It gave only a partial picture, in the view of the DES, and one that was refuted by the DES at the review meeting. "Almost incidentally partly as a result of premature publicity for the examiners' report, public attention was drawn particularly to areas the White Paper had chosen not to treat." It may be that here - as in education generally - the perception and expression of a problem or a trend contributed something to subsequent policy emphasis in these policy areas but, as noted in the "confrontation" discussion, they were "in a number of cases already under consideration ...". In the field of planning for policy the OECD review directly or indirectly contributed to a number of specific developments in the planning arrangements. The OECD review led to the decision by the Education, Arts and Home Office Sub-Committee of the Expenditure Committee of the House of Commons to inquire into "Policy-Making in the Department of Education and Science". While the Sub-Committee endorsed the principle upon which the Department of Planning Organisation is based, it pointed to a number of limitations.

Although the government's reply accepted a number of the Committee's recommendations it is difficult to say whether these consequences derived directly from the OECD review since many of them were already in train in general government thinking as well as within the DES. In the field of planning for policy the OECD review directly or indirectly contributed to specific developments. Its wider impact is more difficult to judge. "It provoked a lively public debate about the Department and its planning processes - processes that, while not in themselves confidential, tend not to be publicised in the normal course of events."

The DES goes on to say that like most Departments of State in an open society, it can respond to constructive criticism and withstand that which is unjustified. "Yet a partial account resulting from incomplete or premature publication, can mislead public understanding ... There are practical difficulties, illustrated by the present case, in being sufficiently open in dealings between officials and examiners to make the exercise worthwhile, without breaching the normal limits of confidentiality set by government in its public dealing." "When the report of a review comes to be published it may affect the politics of education in a particular country in ways that could not have been foreseen."

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* All these statements are taken from interviews at the Department of Education and Science.

The Canadians, who put so much effort into the review, expressed appreciation but also criticism of the review process. The Internal Report was regarded as exceedingly important. But "there is little evidence to indicate that the review has yet had noticeable direct impact on educational policy changes in the individual regions". The interest and response of non-government organisations were thought to be immediate and reflected in considerable activity at conferences and other meetings. The Council of Ministers of Education invited twenty interested country-wide non-government organisations to submit their views on it. Several featured discussion of their report at their conventions or conferences in 1976. In mid-1978 major conferences given by the Canadian School Trustees Association in the Canadian Teachers' Federation were to be concerned in large part with the examiners' report and its recommendations. Many other consultations took place. The report "undoubtedly provided at least some elements of a new philosophical dimension" to some of the discussions and activities on the equality issue. It also attracted a great deal of attention from national and provincial organisations interested in educational handicap.

The review resulted in numerous special studies and research undertaken at many levels, and the assembling of a large mass of information concerning the general state of education in the country as a whole. This information base might contribute positively to knowledge and understanding concerning policies and developments. Participation in a country-wide joint effort for the first time enabled Canadian authorities to view education systems and policies as a whole and the external examination and report, by bringing in "another opinion", induced continuing discussion and debate.

It is perhaps easier to assess impact when the OECD have undertaken more than one review of any single country. Austria had been the subject of a general review in 1968 and in 1975 a review of higher education and research. The latest, in 1978, was on school policy. The Austrian delegation felt that the OECD review of science policy had intimately concerned the universities and that these exercises were a good augury for the review under consideration, providing as they did, most valuable documentation and useful guidelines for reform efforts in Austria and for the development of the new ministry. Many of the recommendations of the earlier reports had been realized and Dr. Skotton leader of the Austrian delegation mentioned in particular "the increased expenditure on research and on the universities in general ... the improvement in the career prospects of younger academics ... the co-operation between the universities and industry and the reversal of the brain drain". *

Yet another potential impact is that of providing the examples, the concepts and, to some extent, the rhetoric, of educational reform for take up by other countries. Senior members of the Swedish authorities believe that the educational planning system had benefited greatly from knowledge of foreign experience and examples. They thought that the examiners did produce "some inspirations". The review highlighted potential developments in pre-schooling, for example, which were identified at a policy meeting within the Swedish Ministry and Board when the review was completed. The review also identified the way in which social objectives related to the changing structure of the system.

Although the Japanese delegation reported the proceedings of the review meeting to their Central Council for Education, it had no direct impact on educational policy. But the visit and the report gave "immense encouragement" to the education authorities and to the build-up of public opinion in favour of the Council's reforms. The publication of the Japanese-language version impressed knowledgeable people with its sociological approach to the present status of Japanese education as reflected in the eyes of foreigners.

We have already referred to the complicated results of the German review whose authorities also believed that the impact would have been more decisive if the review had been restricted in its scope. The examiners would then have been able to relate their thinking more expertly to the current problems being experienced. The German background report represented a vast amount of work by both the provincial and the federal authorities. It was regarded as a highly successful internal effort partly because it was an agreed document worked on by both the federal and provincial government at a time when relationships between them were developing. It was not published in its entirety, however, by the OECD and it was largely ignored by the examiners because too bulky. It was thought, therefore, that there should be a clearer idea as to the size and usability of country reports. They ought to be of a length where they could be published with the other documents.

There criticisms reflect not only on OECD procedures but on the fact that the success of OECD reviews depends both on the review itself and on the circumstances of the country being reviewed. The Dutch Contours Review was "successful" because a Minister had placed his plans into the public arena, and external critique of them was bound to have an impact. This contrasted with the previous OECD review which the political system hardly noticed, partly perhaps because the whole

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* Reviews of National Policies for Education: Austria, Higher Education and Research, OECD, Paris, 1976, p. 44.

process took an inordinate time. Proposals were drafted in 1964, examined in 1969, and published in 1970. Impact could only be secured if there were quick publication as with the 1976 review.

Dutch interviewees thought that the 1976 examiners did not have it quite right when they implied that the Contours Document reflected changes picked up by the Dutch as a result of the previous examiners' report. The earlier review had simply not had that impact.

Further points made at the January 1979 meeting might be noted here. Publication should be speeded up and a summary of main points published in advance of the full text. No difficulty should be placed in the way of publication in the language of the country review simultaneously with the OECD Anglo-French versions. A brief version should be produced for wider publicity. And there might be brief updating published from time to time. All of the suggestions point to a desire to enhance impact.

OVERALL EVALUATION

What, then, did the reviews do? First, the country background reports must have hastened and enhanced the process of policy clarification, if in different degrees, in different countries with different policy systems. To state policies is also to clarify and to make them. It cannot be confirmed empirically but different countries testify that where the country review was conducted as a public exercise, as in Japan, the United States, Norway, Canada and Australia (although in all these cases the "public" were the educational groups rather than the public at large), issues were discussed more fully and wider interest aroused. That must have had an impact on the environment if not on the processes of policy-making. Where the analysis was "in-house" but the countries used the exercise as a process of self-evaluation, the examination was, by definition, likely to have impact. Elsewhere, too, impact, sometimes of an unexpected kind, will have been felt through the particular and sometimes accidental intervention of the press.

The process of review as much as its product might have impact. The process of review can entail either self-analysis, or external analysis, or public education, or all three. The product of the review thus far has been primarily the written OECD document. Countries vary as to how far they use OECD documents about other countries. Some countries and their officials hardly consult them: "perhaps twenty people read them" was a phrase used in two different countries. Other countries feel themselves to be considerably influenced by the experiences of other education systems. Some reports are standard texts for students and administrators. Certainly, the intellectual and cultural historian of Western Europe from 1945 to 1980 should be able to track elements of consensus about educational democratisation and expansion in which the OECD might well have played the part, if not of activator, then of herald and of recorder. Moreover, the country reviews are only one device. There are other ways as well in which the same notions are mediated, including other forms of OECD work. The single subject conference or seminar leading to the publication of expert contributions might be equally potent.

Where reports have had small impact, techniques of dissemination may have been at fault. In the past, but this is improving, reports have taken far too long to be published so that, in the words of one country's leader of delegation, the proposals "get drowned". The format and modes of release are modest. There are no press releases, at least by the OECD, and reviews or even mentions of them in educational journals are rare.

But even if more forcefully pursued, the mere act of publication is not likely to have any systematic effect by itself. Many with whom the author discussed the matter felt that the OECD had a great deal to contribute which could be brought into the policy formation and discussion process more forcefully. Three possibilities might be raised.

First, one country examination raised in a senior official's mind the question as to whether there was not a case for providing a forum, whether through OECD or otherwise, for the exchange of views on the main determinants, and the changing trends within them, of resource allocation and consumption. These determinants were often common to many countries and could be short term or long term. The same procedure could be applied to other themes as well. There are of course many OECD events that are concerned with major general themes. But this proposal is different in kind. It invites the OECD to select sharp and focussed issues arising from major current policy matters that countries in common need to settle rather than simply to discuss. Country reviews might feed an agenda of such issues. There have also been proposals for thematic examinations over more than one country. In the opinion of the author that proposal will raise two problems. First, it will reduce the national motivation. There can be a healthy narcissism in the examination process. Secondly, it might produce facile comparison. It would be better to retain national reviews but non actively to relate them.

Secondly, there are the proposals implied in this report to strengthen the examination process. Countries' needs and motives will not always be the same but this survey implies that a successful examination should seek to provide an analysis in such a form as to be directly useful to the country, and thus respect the immediate problems the country faces as being the main focus of the enquiry; that it brings out for other OECD countries a developing range of experiences and concepts;

and that those experiences should be well discussed and promulgated through adequate publication. Those are, perhaps, minimal desiderata. A far more difficult point is that of follow-through. Countries have a complete right to receive an OECD examination and use it in any way that they wish. Follow-through should be negotiated on an individual basis as should the further extension and validation of the points brought out in each examination. Here, however, we might record the feeling of several countries that the formal closure of the examination with a review meeting is an unsatisfying end to what is often an interesting and potentially important process. The examiners' report needs more detailed and informal discussion than can be provided at a review meeting. On the basis of those discussions it might be modified. On the basis of those discussions, too, further work within the country, with or without OECD external contribution, might be negotiated. No formula need be prescribed. A general style of openendedness would, however, often be welcome.

Finally, there are more difficult issues as to the broadening of the objectives and techniques of reviews. OECD reviews are exercises in policy analysis. Policy analysis essentially depends on the assembling of data by those responsible for the policy being analysed, and a critical penetration of those data by external analysts. But analysis must involve use of data beyond the background report which is, after all, produced by those with a stake in the validation of what the report says. It must also mean that contextual material needs to be studied. Contacts are needed between the examining team and the main interest groups and the sources of applied research in the area being studied within the country itself. In this way, the background report would be one major contribution, but not the only one, to the formation of questions that could then be put through the visit.

Moreover, many of the issues now being tackled by the OECD examination do not depend for their resolution on the creation of "hard data". Thus, rough judgements on the relationship between economic growth and educational development, or indicators of equalization in education, can be put together in quantified form and judgements reached. But such issues as increased participation by the different educational stake-holders, or the impact of different systems of education on the clients, or on the society at large, can only be inferred in the most general way if careful studies are not made. Impact studies, the study of institutional movements, the study of effects of policies are not, in fact, best derived from government sources. The classic example of a policy analysis which went into the impact of public policies was Myrdal's An American Dilemma. That involved large multidisciplinary teams in several years' work in the Southern states of the United States.

Plainly, the OECD cannot commission such vast ethnographic or social psychological studies. It is however seriously open to doubt whether the OECD Secretariat, or the examiners appointed usually at short notice and for only a few days, are able even to tap the resources of this kind that exist in the countries being visited. Perhaps the most sensitive of the examiners' reports in this respect was that on France. It dealt brilliantly with the two traditions in secondary and higher education and with the changing locus of authority for the young. But it is also fair to say that the statements in the review were assertive rather than analytical or empirical. At this stage in the development of applied social science throughout all of the Member countries, it is surely possible for the OECD to act as a stimulus for such analytical and empirical studies and to exploit those which already exist. For this to be done, the methods that are adopted by the examiners would need to be changed.

The examiners would thus find themselves involved in a longer preparatory period in which they could take stock of the scholarly and officials publications already in hand and, as part of their review, state more overtly what are the openings for reflection and analysis that their review reveals. It would not be for the OECD to pursue those openings: to draw attention to them would be enough.

In the section on the role of the examiners, reference was made to the value positions adopted by examiners. It is legitimate for examiners to take up a particular position but it is also incumbent upon their sponsoring organisation to make sure that the wider range of values is also stated. Eclecticism ensures that justice is done to all of the main value positions being investigated. It is also politically essential: "The development of the education system is not just the result of to what extent a given policy concept can be translated into practice ... but depends on the area of consensus, on the degree to which divergent developments are considered acceptable against the basic need for national coherence". Thus, the German commentary on the review. Eclecticism would certainly make for good quality and style of policy analysis. A review might thus state more overtly the different policies being advocated before reaching a conclusion.

The country reviews cannot be considered outside the larger OECD scene which includes important studies of themes as well as individual studies of countries. If the country reviews and thematic studies were better collated, and the attention of examiners more clearly drawn to the cumulated work of the whole Organisation, the end product might be a range of models, both experiential and predictive, and a stated range of value positions. Furthermore, although OECD reports have recorded massive changes in educational structures, evaluations of impact are lacking. Such evaluations would have boldly encountered the differing opinions which are strongly asserting themselves as reform movements settle down and are compelled to encounter the obstinacies of resource shortages, of the historic commitment of institutions and of professions, and of the uncertainties of education's clientele.

In proffering these criticisms and suggestions, the author of this report is sensitive to the importance of not attempting to create too formidable and too clear a statement of the relationship between the OECD and the Member countries. That relationship can best grow from the countries' perceptions of what they need and what can usefully be done. The range of models suggested above would be derived from the problems perceived most sharply in the different countries being reviewed. The examiners' tasks would thus vary according to the problems agreed for analysis. Examiners have multiple roles. They may analyse, criticize, confirm practice or pass judgement. They may record what is happening for others to know. Examinations might start with quite different purposes and develop different styles and techniques, which should however be made explicit. But having emphasized that examiners act non prescriptively it must be said that often those being served are grateful for suggestions of how they might be helped. And at a time when policy studies are only weakly getting off the ground, the OECD has a unique opportunity of creating and demonstrating useful patterns of argument and work.

The reviews undertaken so far show the OECD well established in the role of Clio, the muse of history. What is being proposed here is that it also takes on more explicitly the role of the Sybillae, those prophetic hags.

SOME CONCLUSIONS

It would be otiose to offer a fully summary of this necessarily brief report, but a few conclusions might usefully be drawn here:

1) The main themes of the sixteen reviews are summarized in Chapters II to V. They do not constitute a definitive history, but are a series of snapshots of different policies, of different states of mind, and different policies in a large number of countries during a period of intense economic, social and educational change. The reports reveal remarkable parallelisms of national development and raise fascinating questions of how far countries' policies are moulded by the common experiences of war, demographic and economic boom, followed by recession, of how far policies are reinforced by knowledge of changes elsewhere, or how far they reflect a natural sequence of development, granted that many countries start with similar traditions and structures before the more recent reforms were promoted.

2) Yet it would be easy to be seduced by the thought that all evolves in much the same way everywhere. The concordances are those

of overall values and objectives as expressed by over-arching structures. Examiners do not penetrate far into the minds and working lives of active teachers. The reviews could not take account of the detailed impact of large-scale policies, but yet give an important glimpse of the way in which policy studies should move. The newer styles of participatory and reflexive planning are ultimately noted in some of the reports. So this study leads naturally to questions of how external review might be objective yet respectful of the particularities that make up the educational experiences of pupils, students and teachers.

3) The model to be adopted - already implicit in the way that the OECD works - might be codified as follows:

   a) OECD specifically determines its review programme to incorporate a wide range of multiple problems and contexts requiring analysis from several perspectives in a range of countries;
   b) the background reports are carefully negotiated to ensure that multiple national viewpoints, both analytic and subjective, are brought into the collated statements. These would come from government, practitioners, client groups and from objective academic sources;
   c) it follows from (a) and (b) that the examining team would be selected to be able to respond to the particular challenges thrown up by the negotiation of subjects with the country;
   d) the background report and the examiners' response would thus continue to be rooted firmly in the experiences and problems of the country examined. National histories and educational policies should not be blended into generalized metahistory;
   e) the OECD then might consider wider exploitation of country reviews in two ways. First, if the country so wishes, follow up, probably through ad hoc programmes that might be arranged, preferably by identifying internal groups, but with such external help as is deemed necessary. Secondly, the particular country experiences should be better collated and also related to the thematic studies mounted in OECD activities outside the country review system.

There is nothing new in what is suggested here, but the making of intentions clearer would put the OECD in a strong position to give leadership to the development of policy studies that are reflexive, because empathetic to perceived needs, and not derived from the rhetoric of externally imposed change, or from the narrow imperatives of economic analysis.

Appendix

LIST OF DOCUMENTS CONSULTED

OECD REVIEWS OF NATIONAL POLICIES FOR EDUCATION

	DATE OF REVIEW MEETING	DATE OF PUBLICATION
AUSTRALIA: Transition from School to Work or Further Study	1976	1977
AUSTRIA	1968	1970
AUSTRIA: Higher Education and Research	1975	1976
AUSTRIA: School Policy	1973	1979
CANADA	1975	1976
ENGLAND AND WALES: Educational Development Strategy in	1974	1975
FRANCE	1970	1971
GERMANY	1971	1972
IRELAND	1968	1969
ITALY	1967	1969
JAPAN	1970	1971
NETHERLANDS	1969	1970
NETHERLANDS: Contours of a Future Education System	1976	1976
NORWAY	1974	1976
SWEDEN	1967	1969
UNITED STATES	1969	1971

The author also had access to replies to an enquiry from the Secretariat on the working and impact of OECD examinations which were recieved from Australia, the Canadian education authorities, England and Wales, Germany and Japan.